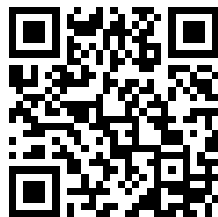


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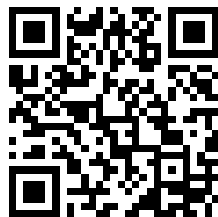


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# THE CLASSICAL REVIEW

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# The Classical Review

FEBRUARY—MARCH, 1926

## NOTES AND NEWS

Special interest attached to the twenty-second General Meeting of the Classical Association, which was held from January 7 to 9 in London. The fact that Mr. Baldwin was President, and was to give his presidential address, filled to overflowing the stately Elizabethan hall of the Middle Temple on the evening of Friday the 8th, and a delighted audience heard every word of a defence of classical education, which for sincerity and directness could not be excelled. Mr. Baldwin claimed to represent the ordinary man, and described the particular help and inspiration he had derived from the Classics in his life, and particularly in his political career. The thanks of the Association were voiced by Lord Finlay in enthusiastic language: Lord Sumner's touch of cynicism in seconding struck the wrong note. Mr. Justice Astbury, Treasurer of the Middle Temple, expressed the pleasure of the Society in welcoming the Prime Minister.

After this warm reception of the Society in a famous Inn of Court it seemed very appropriate that the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Hewart of Bury, was elected President for the ensuing year. His address will be delivered at Manchester on October 8 next.

Another interesting departure marked the other meetings of the Association, which, by the kindness of the Governors and Headmaster, were held at Merchant Taylors School. It was decided to try the experiment of sectional papers, delivered simultaneously in different rooms. To start with, the broad distinction between literary and historical or archaeological subjects was attempted. The readers were Professor Rose, Dr. Nairn, Mr. E. T. England, Rev. T. W. Lumb, Mr. F. Fletcher (Exeter), Mr. Tod, Mr. Mattingly, Professor Dobson, and Professor Granger (Nottingham). Some of the readers occupied too much

of the hour allotted, so that there was not sufficient time for discussion: otherwise the experiment seemed to justify itself and gave general satisfaction by the variety of subjects thus offered. Lantern lectures were delivered by Mr. A. J. B. Wace on the *Doric Tombs of Mycenae*, and Mr. C. T. Seltman, Joint Secretary, on *Greek Coins and History*. Professor H. Stuart Jones sent an admirable account of *The Making of a Lexicon*, which interested all its hearers who sympathised with the labours of a modern lexicographer in a great and much-needed undertaking. Professor Paul Mazon delivered an address in French on 'Science et Enseignement,' and a vote of thanks to him was proposed by Dr. Nairn in the same language. The success of the meeting was largely due to Dr. Nairn for his kind co-operation: thanks to him everything went smoothly and without a hitch.

In place of the retiring Treasurer, Professor Ormerod, Professor Smiley of University College, London, was elected; and in place of the retiring Secretary, Dr. G. C. Richards, Dr. E. Norman Gardiner, of 186, Woodstock Road, Oxford, was chosen. The vacancies on the Council were filled by Professor Ormerod, Dr. Richards, Canon Cruickshank, Miss Leary, and Mr. H. F. Hose of Dulwich College.

A pleasant feature of the meeting was the telegram of good wishes from Dean West on behalf of the American Classical League, and the reading of the annual American letter from Professor W. P. Mustard of Johns Hopkins University. For the promotion of international relations it would be a good thing if a scholar from a country not represented hitherto were invited to Manchester.

SCHOLARS are indebted to the Association of University Teachers for the



inauguration of a scheme which will be of great advantage even to those within reach of well-equipped libraries. The majority of the University libraries, and a number of other libraries, in Great Britain—the exceptions are mainly those libraries whose regulations forbid them to lend books—have agreed to a generous measure of inter-library lending. With the help of a grant from the Carnegie Trust, a central office has been established in Birmingham, under the supervision of Professor Sandbach, the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως of the whole movement; and a user of any University library may send a post-card to this office, and consult it regarding the whereabouts of any book he may be unable to find in his own library. In about a week he may expect to hear that a copy of the book is in the library of this or that University or Society, and can be sent to his librarian if applied for. Various classes of books, such as works of reference, standard works in constant use, and periodicals—such as the *Classical Review*—which ought to be in every learned library, are naturally excluded from the operation of the scheme. Enquiries should be addressed to Mr. L. T. Oldaker, The University Library, Edmund Street, Birmingham.

The Dean of the Graduate School of Yale University invites us to call the attention of our readers to the newly established Sterling Fellowships, which are open to persons desirous of pursuing research in Humanistic Studies as well as in the Natural Sciences. The Fellowships are tenable by foreigners; they are divided into a Senior and a Junior class, the dividing line between the two classes being the American Ph.D. or an equivalent qualification. The Yale Graduate School needs no advertisement in the *Classical Review*. Young British graduates, or older classical scholars with a free year on their hands, will find there both books and shrewd advice on their use. Further particulars may be obtained from the Dean of the Graduate School, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

Professor E. A. Sonnenschein calls attention to the *Lexicon Plautinum*, by Professor Gonzalez Lodge, of Columbia University, U.S.A. (Vol. I., A-L, pp. 917; Teubner, 1914-1924; 10 fascicules, each 7.20 marks, unbound):

'The completion of the first volume of this monumental and unique lexicon to Plautus calls for a brief record in these columns. Such a work has been a *desideratum* for a century; the seventeenth-century lexicon of Pareus is quite inadequate to modern needs. The present work, to which Professor Lodge has devoted over thirty years of labour, is thoroughly up to date, and indispensable to the student of Old Latin. Those who have already purchased the earlier parts should see to it that they get (*free of charge*) the reprint of the first two parts (*A to alius* and *alius to aufugio*) supplied with Part X. The second volume will now follow at a greatly accelerated pace.'

*The Years' Work in Classical Studies, 1924-1925*, edited by D. S. Robertson, has appeared. Back numbers of this annual can be obtained for 2s. 6d. each from Messrs. Arrowsmith, 11, Quay Street, Bristol.

From a Cambridge correspondent :

'The Classical Tripos thrives. The present system not only allows a large number of men and women to round off their school studies of the classics, but maintains the interests of the fit during the whole of their University time; and the fit are no longer few. The fears that followed the war have fallen away. Part I., which had only 78 candidates two years ago, reached a peak last year with 117; this year it has 105. There are substitutes (some of them thought to be easy) for verse composition; yet about half the students offer verses in both Latin and Greek. For Part II., the higher course, the candidates were no more than 36 two years ago; last year they were 50; and they are no fewer than 70 for the Tripos of next June. The schedule allows a choice of special subject (a group) for two papers out of seven. The most popular group is History, but Philosophy is close behind; Criticism and Archaeology follow *longo intervallo*; "Language" also runs, or crawls.'

MR. E. H. BLAKENEY writes:

'It is just a century ago this year that John Conington was born; and his birth-year coin-

cides with that of William Young Sellar. Both these fine and discriminating scholars were distinguished by their work on Virgil. It is not exactly to the credit of English scholarship that no complete edition of Virgil, on the grand scale, has been issued since Conington published his well-known work (1863-1871). Has not the time come when the reproach should be lifted, and an edition published worthy of the greatest of Roman poets? No doubt it would be, in some ways, a formidable undertaking; but it can and ought to be carried through. J. E. B. Mayor long ago (Preface to the 1886 edition of Juvenal) indicated the lines on which an adequate edition should be undertaken. Here are (*mutatis mutandis*) some of his words: "The Universities might issue an edition, not on the Dutch plan, but more concise and more comprehensive at the same time. Two or three [editors] might combine: one colleague might be responsible for all editions of the author, while two others ransacked periodical and occasional literature, '*variae lectiones*,' '*adversaria*,' etc." I should like to see Conington made a basis for the new work; the editor-in-chief being responsible for working in all new (or recovered) matter. Such an edition might well contain the *Culex* and the rest of the "minor works," which were not included in Conington. The format of the new book could well improve on Conington; all critical matter to be placed in the *apparatus criticus*, which should be kept within strictly moderate limits. And the book ought surely to contain *full* indices. Kennedy's single-volume Virgil is extremely useful in this respect, and his example may well be followed. A mass of valuable matter has been got together during the last half-century—Henry's *Aeneidea*, Warde Fowler's monographs, are instances. Minor works, like those of Page and Sidgwick, would yield helpful suggestions. If Mr. J. W. Mackail could be persuaded to act as editor-in-chief, so much the better, for his literary instinct is impeccable.

DR. T. RICE HOLMES writes:

'Dr. E. C. Nischer of Vienna has communicated to me the sad news that Colonel Veith was murdered at the end of August, in the neighbourhood of Zela, whither he had gone to explore. Students of ancient military history will deplore his loss, for he had done much excellent work, and, as he was still in middle age, there was reason to hope that he would do much more. In the notice that appeared in the *Classical Review* (XXXVI., 1922, pp. 89-90) of his last book, *Der Feldzug von Dyrrhachium zwischen Caesar und Pompeius* (in recognition of which he received—I think from the University of Münster—a doctor's degree), three of his earlier writings were honourably mentioned; and his admirable treatise on the campaigns of Octavian in Illyricum, published by the Balkan-kommission in 1914, should have been added to the list. The substance of this treatise has been incorporated, together with other contributions from his pen, in the *Schlachten-Atlas zur antiken Kriegsgeschichte*, which he edited conjointly with Professor Kromayer. Within the last two years he wrote, after personal examination of the terrain, on the operations of Scipio and Domitius Calvinus in the valley of the Aliacmon (Vistritza) and on the topography of the battle of Pharsalus, in regard to which he told me that he accepted, as I had done, the view of Mr. F. L. Lucas, but with '*kleine Abweichungen*.' This paper had not yet been published when he last wrote to me. Towards the end he was collaborating with Dr. Nischer on the chapter *Das römische Heerwesen* for the new edition of Müller's *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*.

Having been invited to contribute to the *Schlachten-Atlas*, I have had much correspondence with Colonel Veith in the last few years, and, though I had never met him, his letters inspired me with feelings of friendship, which were gradually ripening into affection. As Dr. Nischer wrote at the end of his letter, "He was a very good friend."

## ARISTOPHANES AND AESCHYLUS.

ONE of the most famous and delightful scenes in Aristophanes' comedies is that in which Aeschylus and Euripides contend for the Chair of Tragedy before the unintelligent Dionysus. We can still appreciate much of the humour, and the wit has not evaporated even after two thousand years; yet we can scarcely flatter ourselves that we are such *δεξιολογεῖται* as Aristophanes found the Athenians; we cannot expect to understand now all the topical hints and allusions; the musical criticism especially, as Professor Murray says, 'remains above our heads.' Many of the references and jests are laboriously explained for us by

the scholia; others we have to puzzle out for ourselves, but the effort is worth making if we are to appreciate the art of Aristophanes. My purpose in this article is to offer explanations of one or two points which seem so far to have escaped notice. In general it may be well to remark that the prevailing impression that Aristophanes is always on the side of Aeschylus and the angels is somewhat exaggerated: it is obvious that he prefers Aeschylus and dislikes the new methods and the realism of Euripides, but he is above all a *γελωτοποιός*, and is ready to direct his shaft even against his hero occasionally

if only he can raise a laugh. We need not think that a poet who could put Dionysus himself in such ridiculous positions and involve the god in such buffoonery would have scrupled to point to defects in Aeschylus or to ridicule some of his more notorious mannerisms.

I propose to consider four passages. In the first, Dionysus, speaking to Aeschylus, who has broken out in fury against Euripides, quenches his tirade with the words

παῦ', Αἰσχύλε,  
καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγχνα θερμήνης κότῳ  
(ll. 843-4).

Now line 844 is obviously tragic burlesque or *paratragic*, as most of the critics have seen: it is not the way in which a comic poet says normally 'Don't get angry.' But it is more than mere burlesque: it is patently a quotation from some tragic poet. Van Leeuwen with his usual insight perceived this and attributed the phrase to Euripides. The whole scene is full of such quotations, mockingly applied: Aeschylus in line 840 parodies a verse of Euripides (*ἄλῃθες, ὦ παῖ τῆς ἀρουραίας θεοῦ*); and there are many such. But there would be far more point in Dionysus silencing Aeschylus with one of his own verses, and that is what I would suggest he does. The whole phrase smacks of Aeschylus: the word *κότος* is decisive; it occurs altogether twenty-three times in the plays and fragments of the poet, and is a favourite word of his: it never occurs at all in Sophocles, and only twice in Euripides, first in the doubtful *Rhesus*, and again in a passage of the satyr-play, the *Cyclops*, to which I shall revert. Furthermore the word *σπλάγχνα* comes frequently in Aeschylus, and in line 1006 the poet is made to say *θυμοῦμαι μὲν τῇ ξυντυχίᾳ καὶ μου τὰ σπλάγχν' ἀγανακτεῖ*. I suggest that the phrase *καὶ μὴ πρὸς ὀργὴν σπλάγχνα θερμήνης κότῳ* is a fragment of Aeschylus and would have been recognised by the audience as typically Aeschylean: and I would suggest further that it had been delightfully parodied by Euripides in the *Cyclops* (by the change of but one letter), where Odysseus, describing how he made the Cyclops drunk, says:

ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεγχείω  
ἄλλην ἐπ' ἄλλῃ σπλάγχν' ἐθερμαινον ποτῷ  
(ll. 423-4).

(Just so, earlier in the same drama Euripides, at line 218, *μήλειον ἢ βόειον ἢ μεμυγμένον*, unkindly parodies the strange phrase in the *Prometheus*, line 116, *θεόσυτος ἢ βρότειος ἢ κεκραμένη*). Thus Dionysus quashes Aeschylus with one of his own magniloquent lines, a line too already parodied by Euripides.

Before the contest begins each poet is bidden by Dionysus to make a prayer. The words put into the mouth of Euripides (*αἰθῆρ, ἐμὸν βόσκημα, καὶ γλώττης στρόφιν' ἔκτλ.*) are an obvious burlesque of his characters' philosophising and a gibe at his own 'advanced' views. Aeschylus, however, is made to say

Δήμητερ, ἢ θρέψασα τὴν ἐμὴν φρένα,  
εἶναι με τῶν σῶν δέιον μυστηρίων  
(ll. 885-6),

and this is usually accepted by commentators as the orthodox prayer of the model poet, of whom Aristophanes entirely approves. But is this so certain? To be sure Aeschylus hailed from Eleusis, but if Aristophanes meant the prayer to be taken *au grand sérieux* is it not a little unfortunate that he should have put such an appeal to Demeter into the mouth of a man who had been suspected and even accused of divulging the mysteries? This is no place to go into the question whether Aeschylus had been initiated or not, but we do know, on the unimpeachable authority of Aristotle,<sup>1</sup> that on being charged with divulging the mysteries he pleaded ignorance. Later authors tell us he was acquitted, and Clement of Alexandria says expressly that he was acquitted because he proved he had never been initiated, *ἐπιδείξας αὐτὸν μὴ μεμνημένον*.<sup>2</sup> But whatever be the precise truth about the issue of the trial, there is no doubt that Aeschylus was not initiated and that he was suspected of having divulged the mysteries,<sup>3</sup> and it is as ludicrous for Aristophanes to make Aeschylus pray to Demeter as it would be for Drinkwater to make Dryden, after his lapse from Cambridge and from Protestantism, cry, 'To Hell with the Pope!' I suggest that these two lines are also a fragment of Aes-

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, *Ethics*, III. 1111a 10.

<sup>2</sup> Clem. Alex. *Stromata*. II. 60, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Wilamowitz accepts the story in his *Aeschylus*, and he is not usually so conservative.

chylus and are applied to him in jest by Aristophanes.

Towards the end of the contest Dionysus is still perplexed which poet to choose. As one test he requests each to state his opinion of Alcibiades and the best way in which to treat him. Euripides, who twenty years ago had written a triumphal ode for him, replies in three scathing lines: Aeschylus delivers himself thus:

οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν  
μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ ὃν πόλει τρέφειν  
ἢν δ' ἐκτραφῇ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν  
(ll. 1431-3).

There is unfortunately doubt as to the reading, and some editors bracket line 1431. This seems unnecessary, for the λέοντος σκύμνον is certainly a reminiscence of the famous λέοντος *ἱνυ* of the *Agamemnon*, and the whole line (as Hermann and van Leeuwen saw) smacks of Aeschylus. But there may be more in the passage still. Alcibiades belonged to the clan of the Eupatrids on his father's side: these Eupatrids, as Toepffer<sup>1</sup> has shown, claimed descent from Orestes, the εὐπατριδης. Now a lion appears to have been the badge of the Pelopid house from which they pretended descent: the Lion-Gate is one of the monuments of that house; in literature, Aeschylus in his *Oresteia* makes frequent reference to members of it under the simile of lions;<sup>2</sup> on an Athenian hydria Agamemnon is depicted with the badge of a lion upon his shield.<sup>3</sup> A lion is, of course, a very common heraldic device, but a member of the Eupatrid clan would appear to have a right to such a badge, and we have an anecdote of Alcibiades' youth which perhaps refers to this. In a wrestling match he was being worsted by his opponent, and in order to free himself bit into his arm: his opponent released his grip and sneered 'What, Alcibiades, biting like a woman?' 'No,' retorted Alcibiades, 'like a lion.'<sup>4</sup> We do know too that Alcibiades made a change in the ancestral device on his

shield, and gave himself as crest an Eros bearing a torch, and that this change and device alike shocked elderly opinion.<sup>5</sup> I would suggest that the badge of Cleinias, his father, was a lion, and that Aristophanes, by using the phrase λέοντος σκύμνον, makes a very apt allusion to Alcibiades and his family crest, an allusion that could not have been missed by the audience. Similarly, in the *Lysistrata* (l. 664) Aristophanes makes an allusion to the crest of the Alcmaeonidae, and I believe the allusion to Alcibiades would have been palpable.

But even after the delivery of these two opinions poor Dionysus remains nonplussed: he still cannot make up his mind which poet to choose:

ὁ μὲν σοφῶς γὰρ εἶπεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος σαφῶς  
(l. 1434).

Some of Dionysus' perplexity appears to have been transmitted to the commentators; the scholia declare that Aeschylus speaks σοφῶς and Euripides σαφῶς. Meineke actually changed σαφῶς to σοφῶς, and most editors remain cautiously indefinite. Yet the answer should be plain, for Aristophanes throughout his works regards Euripides as the 'clever,' 'smart,' brilliant but pernicious dramatist, and applies σοφός to him continually. Compare these passages:

ὦ τρισμακάρι' Εὐριπίδῃ,  
δθ' ὁ δοῦλος οὕτως σοφῶς ἀπεκρίνατο  
(*Ach.*, ll. 400-1).

πῶς ἂν οὐν ποτε  
εἴποιμ' ἂν αὐτὸ δῆτα κομπευρικῶς;  
(*Equil.*, ll. 17-18).

οὐκ οὐν δικαίως, ὅστις οὐκ Εὐριπίδῃν ἐπαινεῖς  
σοφώτατον;  
(*Nub.*, ll. 1377-8).

οὐκ ἔστ' ἀνὴρ Εὐριπίδου σοφώτερος ποιητής  
(*Lysist.*, l. 368).

ὑπερεμάνησαν κἀνόμισαν σοφώτατον  
(*Ranae*, l. 776).

It is Euripides who is the brilliant poet, the δεξιὸς ποιητής of whom Dionysus is in search, hailed by him as σοφωτάτη φύσις.<sup>6</sup> So brilliant indeed is he that Dionysus cannot always follow him, and on one occasion has to request him to speak ἀμαθέστερον καὶ σαφέστερον<sup>7</sup>—a passage which should

<sup>1</sup> Toepffer, *Att. Genealogie*, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Aeschylus, *Agam.* 1224, 1258-9; *Choeph.* 938 (Oxford text).

<sup>3</sup> G. H. Chase, *Harvard Studies*, 1902, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Alcib.* 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* 16.

<sup>6</sup> Aristophanes, *Ranae*, 71 and 1451, and cf. *Thesmoph.* 21, 22 and 93, 94.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1445.

be decisive. And his verdict on Alcibiades, though pungent and antithetical, is of little practical use or meaning, whereas Aeschylus is perfectly clear and explicit. 'Better not rear an Alcibiades in your state; but if you have done so, you must put up with him.' Athens is

to use him and to employ her best men irrespective of their past or party. This is sound and clear advice. And if my suggestion as to *λέοντος σκύμνον* is correct, Aeschylus' meaning is doubly clear. It is he who speaks *σαφῶς*, and Euripides merely *σοφῶς*.

M. P. CHARLESWORTH.

### ΠΑΝ, ΠΑΝΕΙΟΝ, ΠΑΝΙΚΟΝ.

How old is the association of Pan with groundless fear? In an unguarded moment one might point to the Homeric Hymn or to Herodotus; indeed, some scholars do refer to Herodotus for just this thing. Now Herodotus is one of my chief witnesses, but not for that.

In the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* the name of Pan does not occur. The *Hymn to Pan* says much of mirth but nothing of fear, save that his nurse at his birth fled in terror of his bearded face. The Hesiodic poems say nought of Pan, and the powers of fear whom they mention,<sup>1</sup> as far as they have any being, are children of Ares and Aphrodite, and have nothing to do with Pan.

Let us turn to Herodotus. On the eve of Marathon, we read,<sup>2</sup> Pan told Philippides that he had done good service to Athens, and would do more. The Athenians showed their gratitude by building him a shrine when their affairs had turned out well. Yet what service he did them we are not told. Neither in his story of Marathon nor elsewhere does Herodotus ascribe any discomfiture of the Persians to Pan. Stranger still, when he tells us how fear once fell upon the Persians by night, he says nothing of Pan. When Xerxes and his host came to the Scamander, they did homage to Athena and the Heroes: *ταῦτα δὲ ποιησαμένοισι νυκτὸς φόβος ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐνέπεσε*.<sup>3</sup> That is all. Not *πανικός φόβος*, but just fear.

From Marathon and the Scamander let us pass to Salamis. As Herodotus tells the story we hear nothing of Pan or of panic; indeed, apart from the Persians' wholesome dread of their lord and master,<sup>4</sup> the only combatant to

whom he ascribes fear of any kind is not a Persian but a Greek.<sup>5</sup>

In Herodotus, though gods and heroes, oracles and soothsayers, play their part, the battle is in the main an affair between men and men. In Aeschylus, on the other hand, the work of the gods is seen at every turn.

ἀλλ' ὦδε δαίμων τις κατέφθειρε στρατόν,  
τάλαντα βροίσας οὐκ ἰσοορόπῃ τήχῃ.  
θεοὶ πόλιν σφύζουσι Παλλὰδος θεᾶς.

ἤρξεν μὲν, ὃ δίσποινα, τοῦ παντὸς κακοῦ  
φανείς ἀλάστωρ ἢ κακὸς δαίμων ποθὲν.

οὐ ξυνεῖς δόλον  
Ἕλληνας ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲ τὸν θεῶν φθόνον.

οὐ γὰρ τὸ μέλλον ἐκ θεῶν ἠπίστατο.

θεός  
ναῶν ἔδωκε κῦδος Ἕλλησιν μάχης.<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, the mood of the Persians is fear from the very outset,<sup>7</sup> and when things go against them their flight is wild.<sup>8</sup> Xerxes also, when he sees the defeat from the shore, rushes in disorderly flight.<sup>9</sup> Here, if anywhere, we might look for the work of Pan; and the poet might even be thought, by his conduct of the story, to be leading up to Pan. The Messenger tells his tale of disaster, and adds that there is worse, far worse, to follow. 'What *could* be worse?' asks the Queen; and he enters on the last stage of horror.<sup>10</sup>

νησὸς τις ἰστί πρόσθε Σαλαμῖνος τόπων,  
βαῖά, δίσσормος ναυσίν, ἣν ὁ φιλόχορος  
Πᾶν ἐμπατεύει.

He takes us to Psyttaleia, the haunt of Pan. Yet of any influence of Pan on the issue of the battle he says not a word.

If arguments from silence are ever to have value, I infer that Aeschylus and

<sup>1</sup> *Shield*, 154; *Theogony*, 933.

<sup>2</sup> vi. 105.

<sup>3</sup> vii. 43.

viii. 86.

<sup>5</sup> viii. 94, 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Persae*, 345, 353, 361, 373, 454.

<sup>7</sup> 391.

<sup>8</sup> 422.

<sup>9</sup> 470.

<sup>10</sup> 447.

Herodotus did not associate Pan with fear.<sup>1</sup>

Thucydides, like Herodotus, can describe the nocturnal terrors of armies without recourse to Pan:

'When night came on, the Macedonians and most of the barbarians at once took alarm, as it is the way of large armies to feel inexplicable dismay; and thinking that their assailants were many times more numerous than was the fact, and that they were all but upon them, they took to sudden flight.'

'They lit many fires and set out through the night; and disorder fell upon them, as it is the way of all armies, and especially of the largest, to suffer alarms and terrors, and above all at night, on the enemy's soil, with the enemy not far away.'<sup>2</sup>

First by Euripides is Pan associated with any baneful emotion. In the *Medea*<sup>3</sup> the Messenger supposes the bride's malady to be due to 'the wrath of Pan or some god.' In the *Hippolytus*<sup>4</sup> the Chorus name Pan, Hecate, the Corybantes, and the Mountain Mother, as possible authors of the illness of the

Queen. In neither place is the emotion fear.

First in the *Rhesus*, a play of doubtful date and authorship, does Pan seem to be associated with fear:<sup>5</sup>

τὰ μὲν ἀγγέλλεις δαίματ' ἀκούειν,  
τὰ δὲ θαρσύνεις, κούδ' ἐν καθάρῳ.  
ἀλλ' ἢ Κροονίου Πανὸς τρομερῆ  
μάστιγι φοβῆ;

There the adjective τρομερῆ helps. But in Polybius, Cicero, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the noun πανικόν means by itself, without help from the context, groundless fear.<sup>6</sup> Diodorus, Josephus, Plutarch, and Pausanias, have not that noun, but they give the same sense by combining the adjective πανικός with such nouns as φόβος, θόρυβος, δαίμα and τάραχος. Doubtless these authors connected πανικόν and πανικός with Pan, but first in Plutarch is the connexion expressly alleged.<sup>7</sup>

If my inference from the silence of Aeschylus and Herodotus is right, how had πανικόν, by the time of Polybius, come to convey the sense of *panic fear*?

Perhaps a clue may be found in the word πάνειον, which is used twice by Aeneas the Tactician, a writer of the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but apparently nowhere else in all Greek. I quote the passages of Aeneas from the text contributed to the Loeb Library by the Illinois Greek Club.

(C. xxi.) Περὶ δὲ φυλάκων καταστάσεως καὶ περιοδείων καὶ πανείων καὶ συνθημάτων καὶ παρασυνθημάτων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἐν τῇ Στρατοπεδευτικῇ βίβλῳ γραπτέον ὃν τρόπον δεῖ γενέσθαι, ὀλίγα δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ νῦν δηλώσομεν.

Here, if one knew nothing about πάνειον or πανικόν, one might well take πάνειον, or rather πανεῖον, to mean a fire-signal, and to be derived from πανός,

<sup>5</sup> 34.

<sup>6</sup> An earlier instance of the noun, if we can trust Athenaeus (389 f), is Περὶ τοῦ Πανικοῦ, the title of a treatise of Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle. This treatise is otherwise unknown, and what Athenaeus quotes, though it might have served by way of illustration in a scientific account of panics, resembles what he quotes from another treatise by Clearchus in 393a. This, and the singular, throw doubt on Περὶ τοῦ Πανικοῦ.

<sup>7</sup> *De Iside et Osiride* 14 (356D). Compare Pausanias x. 23. 7.

<sup>1</sup> The Simonidean epigram (*Anth. Plan.* 232) supposes Pan to have aided Athens at Marathon, as Μιλτιάδης shows; so do Theaetetus in the following poem (233), Lucian (*Philops.* 3, *Bis Acc.* 9, *Deor. Dial.* 22. 3), Pausanias (i. 28. 4, cf. viii. 54. 6), Libanius (v. 40, xxx. 32), and Nonnus (*Dionys.* xxvii. 299 ff.). So far as I know, only a scholion on Sophocles (*Ajax* 695) suggests that he played his part at Salamis. Even Plutarch's story of the fight on Psyllaia (*Aristid.* ix.) says nothing of Pan. The pseudo-theocritean *Syrinx* (9-10) does not commit itself to a place. None of these passages suggests that Pan struck panic into the foe.—Eratosthenes, it seems, made Pan strike 'terrorem qui πανικός dicitur' into the Titans in their fight with the Gods (Hygin. *Astron.* ii. 25); and in Polyaeus (*Strat.* i. 2) Pan, as the στρατηγός of Dionysus, frightens the enemy by a ruse, whence τοὺς κενούς καὶ τοὺς νυκτερινούς τῶν στρατευμάτων φόβους Πανὶ <κοῦς> κληῖζομεν.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 125. 1; vii. 80. 3. W. Schmid (*Rhein. Mus.*, 1895, p. 311) has no doubt that Thucydides in both places is combating the ascription of such terrors to Pan. If a similar inference is to be drawn from every sententious passage of Thucydides, there will be a god under every stone.—Xenophon does not seem to help. He does not mention in any terms (*Hell.* ii. 4) the θόρυβος ὁ καλούμενος Πανικός which in Diodorus (xiv. 32. 3) comes upon the troops of the Thirty before Phyle.

<sup>3</sup> 1172.

<sup>4</sup> 142.

a word which a passage of Athenaeus<sup>1</sup> has restored to Aeschylus<sup>2</sup> and Euripides.<sup>3</sup>

But in the second passage of Aeneas the word clearly means *panic*:

(C. xxvii.) Τους δὲ περὶ πόλιν ἡ στρατόπεδα ἐξαίφνης θορύβους καὶ φόβους γενομένους<sup>4</sup> νυκτὸς ἡ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἅπερ ὑπὸ τινων καλεῖται πάνεια (ἔστιν δὲ τὸ ὄνομα Πελοποννήσιον καὶ μάλιστα Ἀρκαδικόν), πρὸς ταῦτ' οὖν τινες κελεύουσι, καταπαύειν θέλοντες αὐτά, προσυγκεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει σημεῖα, ἃ ἰδόντες γινώσκονται· γινώσκονται δὲ ὅτι ἔστιν πάνειον ὧδε· αἰσθῆσονται διὰ πυρός τι προσυγκείμενον ἐπὶ χώρου εὐκατόπτου πᾶσιν εἰς δύναμιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει. ἄριστον δὲ προπαρηγγέλλαι, καθ' οὓς ἂν τῶν στρατιωτῶν γένηται φόβος, κατὰ χώραν τε ἡρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναβοᾶν παιᾶνα, ἢ λέγειν ὅτι εἷν πάνειον καὶ τὸν ἀκούοντα αἰεὶ τῷ πλησίον παραγγέλλειν. καθ' οὓς ἂν τοῦ στρατεύματος μὴ ἀντιπαιανίζωσιν, εἰδέναι κατὰ τούτους τὸν φόβον ὄντα.

The Greek is poor, and the text perhaps corrupt: but *πάνειον* denotes panic, and one of the ways of dealing with panic is a *fire-signal*, the meaning which we should assign to the word in the previous passage if that passage

were to be taken by itself. How can we reconcile the two passages?

I conjecture that *πανεῖον* originally meant *fire-signal*, being related to *πανός* as *λυχνεῖον* is to *λύχνος*; that in Arcadia, the Peloponnese, and elsewhere, it came to be used in particular of a fire-signal announcing a groundless terror among troops; and that thence it came to mean such a terror itself. The history of the word would then resemble that of *alarm*, which from meaning *a call to arms* has come to be synonymous with *fear*.

The change in the meaning of *πανεῖον*, a specially Arcadian word, may have been helped by a mistaken connexion with Πάν, the god of Arcady; but it is also possible that the special use of *πανεῖον* contributed to the change by which Pan came to be regarded as the author of fear.

Even the form *πανικόν* may owe something to *πανεῖον*. Without some such help, how did that neuter adjective pass into a noun?<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Since Antigonos Gonatas is much later than Aeneas, I need not consider the suppositions that panic helped him to defeat the Gauls at Lysimachia, and that this panic came into the hymn of Aratus in praise of Pan (H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften*, iii., pp. 405 ff.; W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 165, 174). Justin, who alone gives us details of the fight, says nothing of panic or of Pan.

E. HARRISON.

## NOTES ON THE ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑ.

(Continued from Vol. XXXIX., p. 154.)

24. 3 ἐπεὶ συνεστήσαντο τὸν πόλεμον ὕστερον, ὀπλῖται μὲν δισχιλίοι καὶ πεντακῆσιοι, νῆες δὲ φρουρίδες εἰκοσι, κ.τ.λ.

That this whole section on the 20,000 citizens who live at ease (*εὐπορία τροφῆς*) at the expense of the state is of a highly rhetorical character should not be denied. The flourish at the end, *ἔτι δὲ πρυτανεῖον καὶ ὀρφανοὶ, καὶ δεσμωτῶν φύλακες*, is sufficient to establish that; where the *ὀρφανοὶ* are minors and so not citizens, and the prison-guards are either the Eleven (so Sandys), in which case they should have been already included under the *ἀρχαὶ ἐνδημοί*, or slaves, and in any case would constitute a very negligible addition to the

total. The passage shows considerable, if perverted, learning, and strong political bias; it is based on genuine fifth-century evidence, but it is collected from isolated statements by fifth-century authors, of various dates and not all of equal value; some, at least, come from comedy. I suspect the collector to have been Theopompus. But an author, however rhetorical, will keep within some limit. Why should anyone, however much opposed to democracy or socialism, be angry because an army and a navy are paid by the state in time of war? And if this writer did object, why does he give 2,500 hoplites only, not the full force,



and twenty guard-ships only instead of the whole navy?<sup>1</sup> These objections seem to me fatal to the MS. reading; we must alter to τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, as Kaibel first proposed,<sup>2</sup> and read συνέστησαν, as Mr. Harrison suggests to me, for συνεστήσαντο, in order that we may understand these items as part of the standing military force in peace-time. There would still remain an exaggeration—‘preparations for the war,’ the Peloponnesian, as though all Athenian efforts for years before 431 had this end consciously in view; but that is in the style of this chapter.

*Ibid.* ἄλλαι δὲ ᾗς αἱ τοὺς φόρους ἀγούσαι τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους διασχιλίου ἀνδρας.

Editors have dealt with this passage in three different ways: (1) Some alter φόρους to φρουροὺς with Blass; others keep φόρους and assume a lacuna after ἀγούσαι, and either (2) suppose that only one item is given in the whole sentence ἄλλαι . . . ἀνδρας, and would insert φέρονσαι (Colin), or simply καί (Mathieu and Haussoullier: ‘d’autres navires portant les tributs avec deux mille hommes tirés au sort’); or (3) suppose that the ships and the 2,000 men are two separate items (Kaibel and Wilamowitz). Only Kenyon leaves the text as it is, and translates: ‘Other ships which collected the tributes, with crews amounting to 2,000 men selected by lot.’ I do not know how he gets this from the Greek. The objection to (3) is that the items we already have in the text give a total of about 19,750,<sup>3</sup> to which the prytaneum,

orphans, and prison-guards have to be added. Also ships escorting the allies’ tribute would not especially have been manned by citizens, and would not have been active for more than a month or so in the spring; to suggest the contrary would be extravagant even for the author of this chapter. This last point is against both (2) and (3). The objection to (1) is that in this way the number 2,000 is made to refer to the men (whether φρουροί or others) carried by the ships and not to the ships’ crews. This is impossible. Clearly the author is here enumerating seamen (as Wilamowitz saw, II. 205. 7), and the land-troops have already been given. This objection also applies to the insertion of καί, which anyhow produces a very improbable sentence.

We must, I think, give up φόρους for the reason given above, and adopt Blass’ φρουροὺς. This will involve only a slight further change to make the figure refer to the crews and not to the passengers of these vessels—namely, <ἐς> διασχιλίου ἀνδρας. If we keep φόρους and translate ‘ships escorting the tribute with a crew of 2,000’ (we must not say ‘collecting the tribute’ or refer to the νῆες ἀργυρολόγοι, unless we are prepared to depart from the historical facts), we should still insert ἐς, and there will then be something wrong with τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους; or if we assume a lacuna and another item, then we want ἐς διασχ. ἀ. as the total of the two items.

If φρουροὺς, or any other word of similar import, is right, we have here evidence, of a kind, that regular drafts were sent out to different parts of the

<sup>1</sup> Sandys adds these 2,500 to the 6,000 dicasts and 500 bouleutae, and finds the result to equal exactly the number of Athenians (according to Pausanias) who fought at Marathon; and adds the 700 home officials to that and gets a total only 300 less than the 10,000 Athenians who marched into the Megarid. Why not say also that the 6,000 dicasts are not far short of the number of hoplites who fought at Delion, and the 2,500 nearly equal to the number who fought at Chaeroneia? Were no dicasts over age, and none of them thetes?

<sup>2</sup> He later (*Stil u. Text*, p. 181) reverted to the MS. reading.

<sup>3</sup> One must say ‘about,’ as the figure for the ἀρχαὶ ὑπερόροι is corrupt; they may well have amounted to more than 700, as there were garrisons in some of the cities.

It is necessary, I think, to assume the full number of 4,000 for the twenty guard-ships, as

Kenyon. Without it we have no definite figure for this as for all the other items before the last three thrown in; and 4,000 brings the total near the desired 20,000. All we have to suppose is that there was some evidence that at some time in the fifth century twenty ships were kept in commission for some eight months in the year manned entirely by citizens; just as Plutarch (*Per.* 11), and he alone, had evidence that 60 ships were kept in commission largely manned by citizens. It is not necessary for us to believe either statement if we think probability is against them. Both may, however, be true for different times during Pericles’ rule, or soon after.

It is curious that no special mention is made here of the Paralos and the Salaminia.

Empire, and a squadron kept in constant readiness for their transport and supply. Also such ships would be required as much in peace time as in war, which increases the need for reading τὰ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον above.

32. 3. γενομένης δὲ ταύτης τῆς πολιτείας οἱ μὲν πεντακισχίλιοι λόγῳ μόνον ἡρέθησαν, οἱ δὲ τετρακόσιοι μετὰ τῶν δέκα τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων εἰσελθόντες εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἤρχον τῆς πόλεως.

It is generally, and not unnaturally, supposed that this board of ten men with full powers are the ten strategoi αὐτοκράτορες of 31. 2. But it is to be noticed that these are only to serve 'with full powers' for the following year, after being chosen by the new Boule of 400; and that they are not here called strategoi (as they are in 31. 3), the regular name for a well-known office.

Now, while there are many discrepancies between Aristotle and Thucydides in their accounts of the various proposals made by the oligarchs, there are no great differences in their narrative of events. The chief of these latter are: (1) In Thucydides there are ten ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες elected to draw up the new constitution (VIII. 67. 1), in Aristotle a body of 30 (20 ξυγγραφεῖς and the already existing ten πρόβουλοι); (2) the method in which, apparently, the 400 were elected (Thuc. 67. 3 and *Ath. Pol.* 31. 1); and (3) in Aristotle the 5,000 are chosen and act (30. 1, 32. 1), in Thucydides, before the overthrow of the 400, they exist on paper only.

But after the first sentence of c. 32 Aristotle agrees much more closely with Thucydides: he returns to a narrative the basis of which is Thucydides. Most noticeable of all is his contradiction of his own account of the 5,000: οἱ πεντακισχίλιοι λόγῳ μόνον ἡρέθησαν, just as in 32. 1 ἐπικυρωθέντων δὲ τούτων ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους (not ὑπὸ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων) he has already by implication adopted an account more nearly agreeing with Thucydides (67. 2, 69. 1). Then, as to the second of the differences noted above, we are actually only given the method of election proposed; we are not told that this method was adopted, though in a more carefully written book than the *Ath. Pol.*

we should assume this. We need not, therefore, regard it as very important.

This leaves us with discrepancy No. 1, concerning the ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες. Cary has shown (*J.H.S.* XXXIII., 1913, pp. 6 ff.) that, since Aristotle must be wrong in saying that the 5,000 were actually chosen and transacted business during the rule of the Four Hundred, 'the constitutions which presuppose them must be rejected likewise. . . . Aristotle's two constitutions (cc. 30 and 31) do not belong to the context into which they have been inserted, and their author did not know how the Four Hundred were really constituted.' But the ten στρατηγοὶ αὐτοκράτορες of 31. 2 are part of the second of these two constitutions (the provisional one), and must disappear with it. Since then, in c. 32 (after the first sentence), Aristotle is following a narrative which largely agrees with Thucydides, it is probable that οἱ δέκα οἱ αὐτοκράτορες of 32. 3 are not the στρατηγοὶ of 31. 2, but the ten ξυγγραφεῖς αὐτοκράτορες of Thucydides, the commission of thirty being ignored, so that we should have here another of those silent inconsistencies of which the *Ath. Pol.* is full. This does not necessarily mean that Thucydides is right and the first account in Aristotle wrong, for the latter had the support of Androton and Philochorus. Aristotle is hardly an independent authority in the matter, and may be only following Androton; but the support of Philochorus perhaps weighs the balance against Thucydides.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Ar. *Lys.* 421 and 609 follow Philochorus in this, indicating that his was the accepted version. But it may be noted that Harpocration, our authority for Androton and Philochorus, misquotes Thucydides: ὁ δὲ Θ. τῶν ἰ ἐμνημόνευσε μόνων τῶν προβούλων, and has misled Sandys here.

Cary (pp. 10-11) also finds a difficulty in Thucydides' account of the meeting of the ecclesia at Colonus: What were the prytaneis doing to allow Peisander's resolutions? and how did the oligarchs obtain the necessary προβουλευματα from the democratic Boulê? But the only προβούλευμα that was necessary was that a motion that any proposal could be made without fear of a γραφή παρανόμων should be allowed. After that was put and carried in legal form Peisander could propose what he liked. Thucydides' narrative is at any rate

35. 2 καὶ τοὺς τ' Ἐφιάλτου καὶ Ἀρχεστράτου νόμους τοὺς περὶ τῶν Ἀρεοπαγιτῶν καθέλλον ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, καὶ τῶν Σόλωνος θεσμῶν ὅσοι διαμφορηθέντες εἶχον καὶ τὸ κύρος δ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς δικασταῖς κατέλλουσιν.

What is the limit of improbability allowable in the *Constitution of Athens*? What kind of statement is so remarkable that it is more probably due to a copyist's error than to the author? We are very near the limit here. Who was Archestratus, and why is he suddenly mentioned here, as a well-known figure, though we have heard nothing of him before? If any one is to be mentioned besides Ephialtes it should obviously be Pericles (though he is omitted in 41. 2), for his separate attack on the Areopagus has already been told (27. 1). Probably, says Kenyon, 'he was one of the supporters of Ephialtes, and some of the laws curtailing the power of the Areopagus stood in his name.' Yet Aristotle has said nothing of him before, and no one else apparently ever mentioned him in this connexion. Moreover the position of τε (not Ἐφ. τε καὶ Ἀρχ.) suggests that his legislation was separate from Ephialtes', 'both Ephialtes' laws and Archestratus',<sup>1</sup> as Pericles' was according to the *Ath. Pol.* One cannot help suggesting that there is something seriously wrong with the text; that we should read Περικλέους here in place of Ἀρχεστράτου, and suppose that the latter's name occurred a little lower down, after ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου, in some such phrase as Ἀρ. γράψαντος τὴν γνώμην, he being a humble supporter of

consistent, for in the previous chapter he has described the state of terror to which the democrats had been reduced by the oligarchical clubs. Ar. 29. 4-5 in general agrees with Thuc. 67. 2-3, except that the latter includes the appointment of the 400 among the resolutions passed, and Aristotle does not. As Aristotle does not tell us how the 400 were in fact constituted (if with Cary we reject c. 31), he is presumably wrong here and Thucydides is right.

That the proposed constitutions of cc. 30 and 31 were amongst those discussed after the 400 were overthrown during the brief rule of the 5,000 (*cf.* Thuc. VIII. 97. 2), as Cary, following a suggestion of Beloch's, proposes, seems to me a very probable solution of this difficulty. See, however, Ehrenberg, *Hermes* 57, 1922, p. 621 ff.

<sup>1</sup> So 25. 4 δ τ' Ἐφ. καὶ Θεμιστοκλῆς, where it is quite unnecessary insert δ before Θ., as all editors do.

the thirty, introduced here as Aristion in 14. 1, Melobius in 29. 1, from the official record. An extravagant suggestion; but it may be right.

Editors seem to suppose that τε here connects the laws of Solon with those of Ephialtes, as equally removed from the Areopagus, and naturally find a difficulty, because Solon's laws were preserved not on the Areopagus, but in the Prytaneum; see Sandys, who to avoid this would strike out either ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου or τε. Neither is necessary. All that we need do is to punctuate as above, instead of with a comma after εἶχον and none after πάγου.

54. 7 κληροὶ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις δέκα (ἱεροποιοῖς), τοὺς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν καλουμένους, οἱ θυσίας τέ τινας θύουσιν καὶ τὰς πεντετηρίδας ἀπάσας διοικοῦσιν πλὴν Παναθηναίων. εἰσὶ δὲ πεντετηρίδες μία μὲν ἢ εἰς Δῆλον . . . δευτέρα δὲ Βραυρώνια, τρίτη δ' Ἡράκλεια, τετάρτη δ' Ἐλευσίνια, ἔ δὲ Παναθήναια· καὶ τούτων οὐδεμία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγίγνεται.

(For the last word the papyrus has γινέ[ται], with ἐν written over it as a correction.)

There is a special reason for adopting Blass' reading ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γίγνεται, which has not so far been observed. The directors of these penteterides are yearly, not four-yearly officials like the ἀθλοθέται who managed the greater Panathenaea (60. 1). But if any two of the four festivals in their charge fell in the same year, then the ἱεροποιοί for at least one year of each quadriennium would have had no penteteris to manage. This is unlikely, even though they had some other duties, such as the management of the lesser, yearly Panathenaea in the first, second, and fourth years of an Olympiad (*C.I.A.* II., n. 163; Mommsen, *Feste*, p. 126).<sup>2</sup> Not only is it probable that every board of ἱεροποιοί had a penteteris to manage, but this would naturally have been expressed by Aristotle. Neither of the other interpretations of ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐγγίγνεται ('in the same place' or 'in the same season of the year') is relevant; and ἐνιαυτῷ seems required to make the meaning clear.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen agrees with Blass, and suggests that the order of the festivals in Aristotle is their order within an Olympiad, the Herakleia being probably held in the third, and the Eleusinia in the fourth year (p. 162. 2).

This emendation requires also (as Kaibel saw) that we should read *εἰσι* δὲ <αῖ> πεντετηρίδες κ.τ.λ.,<sup>1</sup> and that something should be done with *εἰ* δὲ Παναθήναια. Blass struck it out, and

<sup>1</sup> Best of all would be *εἰσι δὲ δ' αἱ π. αὐται* (combining suggestions of Kaibel and Harrison), but this involves too great a departure from the MSS.

here at least no one could say that such a note might not have 'crept in' from the margin. But we may suggest as well (*τὰ δὲ Παναθήναια <ὑπὸ τῶν ἀθλοθετῶν διοικεῖται>*). It would be clear enough, I think, that *τούτων* would then refer to *αἱ πεντετηρίδες* only.

A. W. GOMME.

## ANAGRAMS.

SOME years ago, when cross-word puzzles were still regarded as a nursery game, the composition of anagrams was a favourite occupation for learned and unlearned alike. A Cambridge scholar produced a short poem which ended with *Skeat takes Kate's Keats away*; and the present writer, trying his hand on a Latin elegiac anagram, found about twenty-four permutations of the letters of the word *ingrate*, every one of which would make a Latin word or words. The Greek language is a good medium for anagram, owing to the richness of its vocabulary, the latitude given by dialectical variations, e.g. between *η* and *α*, and the variety of forms even in a single dialect: e.g. *ἄρα, ἄρ, ῥα, ῥ'* (with elision), are all one to Homer. It is therefore not too much to expect that any couplet of Greek verse, if dissected and carefully examined, may be found to contain the elements of other quite different words, and with exceptional luck or industry we may even compose other verses, whether in the same or different metre, dealing with any subject on earth rather than the original one, as Lucretius said prophetically:

omne genus motus et coetus experiendo  
tandem conueniunt in tales disposituras.

Take, for instance, the end of the *Iliad*, not as we have it in our editions, but the alternative given by Sch. T., which has hitherto laboured under the unjust suspicion of spuriousness:

ὅς οἱ γ' ἀμφίεπον τάφον Ἑκτορος· ἦλθε δ' Ἀμα-  
ζών  
Ἄρῃος θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος ἀνδρόφονοιο—

hand it over to your son at a public school, and in the brief space of a French lesson he will produce words,

unintelligible to him, out of which you will build up the lines:

γάβη· ποῦ Κολοφῶν Σαλαμῖς ῥόδος Ἀργος  
Ἀθήνα;  
ἦ ῥ' ἐρεῖν τὸ 'ζῆ'· τράγοφιν δ' ὀνομήτορα  
φίμῳ,

which we shall easily paraphrase thus:

Hurrah! what about the old theories as to Homer's birthplace? Truly the principle 'live while you may' is a sound one, but I am trying to muzzle a Chimaera.

The dialectical variations in the first line can be paralleled from the vocabulary of other anagrams; the description of the Chimaera, 'a goat-snake mothered by an ass' (or is it 'mother of an ass'?), is comic rather than epic, and marks the transition from Homeric dignity to the taste of an age which produced the *Margites*.

Having speculated thus far we are ready to form an impartial judgment on *The Colophons of the Iliad and the Odyssey*.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the *Homer of Aristotle* here follows the methods employed in that much criticised work—that is to say, he divides the last four lines of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* respectively into squares of letters, each square being an 'anagram unit.' The squares are normally of sixteen letters each, though some are defective, containing, for instance, fourteen, fifteen, or nine letters, and in one case a single letter only; but this is immaterial, as the units may overlap.

Each of the anagrams produced is in five iambic lines, in which the writer assures us that both the language and metre are absolutely normal. Of the

<sup>1</sup> By D. S. Margoliouth. Oxford: Basil Blackwood, 1925. 1s. net.

language it may be admitted that all the words can be found in dictionaries; if the metre is normal, we must revise our opinions about the iambic trimeter, though the more conservative among us will charitably assume that Homer, struggling with the technique of an unfamiliar metre, produced verses which,

to the Athenian taste, would have appeared crude, as the noble trimeters of Ennius and Accius did to Horace. But *quo, Musa, tendis?* Can it be, after all, that while we are laughing *γναθμοῖσι ἀλλοτρίοισι*, Dr. Margoliouth, like the slayer of Argos in the Homeric Hymn, is still speaking 'with a wink in his eye'?

J. F. DOBSON.

### THE PROPOSED NEW DATE FOR IPSUS.

AMONG the cuneiform documents which have lately thrown light on Hellenistic history is a new Babylonian astronomical table bearing on the Ipsus campaign, which Father F. X. Kugler has recently published and commented on.<sup>1</sup> This table, which is S  $\dagger$ 1881 (76-11-17) in the British Museum, shows that, whereas Babylon was Seleucus's in Nisan 302, Antigonus was ruler of Babylon by 18 Duzu (6 Aug. 302 on Kugler's equations), and apparently was still ruler on 7 March 301. From these data Kugler deduces that Seleucus cannot have returned from India till after 7 March 301, that consequently his winter quarters in Cappadocia were not 302/1 but 301/0, and that therefore Ipsus cannot have been fought in 301, or earlier than spring 300; a date which, if well-founded, would create a widespread disturbance in the accepted chronology of the Successors, based on Diodorus (Hieronymus). I venture to interpret the new data very differently.

A passage in Arrian (*Ind.*, ch. 43, §§ 4, 5) I think gives the key. It states that Ptolemy I. sent to Seleucus Nicator, to Babylon, a message carried by men on swift camels through the desert across the 'isthmus' or neck of the Arabian peninsula; no date or context is given. The route taken from Egypt must have been via the oasis El Jauf; it appears that as far as Jauf this route must go through true desert, as Arrian describes it. The natural communication of Jauf seems to be with Transjordan; but

there appears to be no great difficulty in reaching the Euphrates from it, and the possibility of utilising this route has occasionally been discussed in modern times. I have failed to find any mention of this route in antiquity except Arrian's; but the preliminary question arises whether it can have formed a regular line of communication between Egypt and Babylon—that is, whether Ptolemy I. perhaps maintained a camel-post across Arabia. I think the idea must be negatived. That camels are not heard of in Egypt before the reign of Ptolemy II.<sup>2</sup> doubtless means little; but one would expect ordinary correspondence to follow the line of least resistance, the regular route by Damascus; for so far as is known the very speedy Persian system of couriers along the main roads was still maintained. But the real reason for supposing that the route via Jauf was not in regular use is that Arrian clearly seems to be recording an isolated and (to him or his source) somewhat extraordinary event. He says that no one has ever sailed round Arabia from Babylon to the Red Sea, unless some storm-driven crew; but as to the 'isthmus,' it has been crossed by fugitives from Cambyses' army and by 'the men sent by Ptolemy to Seleucus to Babylon'; these last, he adds, had to carry water on their camels, and travelled only by night as they could not bear the heat during the day. To say a desert has been crossed twice implies twice only. Presumably Ptolemy, in some emergency, got a native sheikh and his camels to take his messengers across; he was imitating Alexander, who, when he sent Polydamas on dromedaries across the

<sup>1</sup> *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, B. II., T. II., Heft 2, 1924, pp. 438 ff.; and more fully in *Von Moses bis Paulus*, 1922, pp. 305 ff., which, though dated earlier, is referred to in the former work as forthcoming. I desire to thank Mr. Sidney Smith for calling my attention to the *Sternkunde*.

<sup>2</sup> See Wilcken in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, VII., 1924, p. 82.



Persian desert with the order to kill Parmenion,<sup>1</sup> must have engaged natives and their animals to take him.

One word here on Arrian's source. Nearchus' narrative ends with ch. 42, and in ch. 43, §§ 1-9, Arrian is putting together various material on the possibility of circumnavigating Arabia, as Alexander had planned to do. In § 2 the words *εἵνεκα τοῦ σύρροον εἶναι τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν* point clearly to Eratosthenes, whom (ch. 3, § 1) he calls *πιστότερος ἄλλον*. Then comes the Ptolemy story. § 6 is his own deduction, that the southward part of the Arabian coast of the Persian Gulf is uninhabitable. § 7 is the ship sent from the gulf of Heroopolis which reached Yemen; Theophrastus gives it more fully (*Hist. Plant.* 9, 4), doubtless ultimately from the captain's report; it was probably dispatched by Alexander (Strabo 16, 768). §§ 8 and 9 summarise Arrian *Anab.* 7, 20, 3-8, *i.e.* the reports of the ship-captains Archias and Hiero as given by Aristobulus. What Arrian is using in ch. 43, §§ 1-9, is then all good fourth or third century material; and there can be little doubt that, wherever he got his curious story about the remote Cambyses, his Ptolemy story in §§ 4 and 5 is also good material, and doubtless comes from Hieronymus, who was his main authority for his history of the Successors. The story may therefore be accepted as fact.

If then Ptolemy, who must of course often have communicated with Babylon, once and once only sent a message thither across the Arabian desert, the natural explanation seems to me to be, that the Damascus road with its couriers was closed to him, *i.e.* occupied by an enemy. As, having regard to Seleucus' movements, this enemy could only be Antigonus I., the incident cannot belong either after Ipsus (when moreover Seleucus was not at Babylon), or before the outbreak of Antigonus' first war with the coalition in spring 315. But from 316 to 312 Seleucus was in Egypt; peace was made early in 311; a good deal of Seleucus' time after 311 was spent in the far east. The incident must therefore belong to the second

war in which Antigonus and Ptolemy were enemies, 306 to 301; and this places it. For when late in 303 Cassander, Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus formed their league to destroy Antigonus, how did the other kings communicate with Seleucus, seeing that Antigonus held every regular route between west and east? No historian has noticed this difficulty. Arrian here shows that it was done by Ptolemy sending messengers across Arabia. Seleucus therefore was back in Babylon from India by winter 303/2, or early spring 302 at latest; and therewith Kugler's deduction falls to the ground.

The passage from Malalas (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* 97 p. 111) which Kugler uses to confirm his deduction, and which says that Seleucus founded Antioch immediately (*εὐθέως*) after his victory, does not help; for even if Malalas be right in saying Antioch was founded in May 300, as is likely enough, this is quite consistent with Ipsus in summer 301, as has generally been seen; one cannot press words like *εὐθέως* in a late writer, and in fact there was a great deal done in between; *e.g.* Antigonus' kingdom had first to be divided up, a matter in which Cassander, who at the time was in Macedonia, played a leading part.

But though Kugler's date must be rejected, one owes him many thanks for publishing a document which throws light on the Ipsus campaign, unfortunately lost in Diodorus. What happened seems clear. Seleucus got Ptolemy's message at Babylon in winter 303/2 or early in 302, and in late spring or early summer 302 started westward. At this time some of Antigonus' troops were with Demetrius in Thessaly, and Antigonus with his main army was moving on Asia Minor in an attempt to crush Lysimachus. He could not send a sufficient force to hold Seleucus also; he understood first principles, and needed his strength to try and dispose of Lysimachus before Seleucus could join him. But, after Seleucus started, he sent a small column to occupy Babylon (which was unwallled), on the chance of making Seleucus turn back; this column, whether or no it took the palace fortress, had occupied Babylon

<sup>1</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 3, 26, 3; Strabo 15, 724.

by 6 August 302, and probably held it till Ipsus. For Seleucus, who also understood first principles, did not turn back; he knew that the way to recover

Babylon was to join Lysimachus and defeat Antigonos' main army. The new document really confirms the accepted dating of Ipsus in 301.

W. W. TARN.

## VERGIL'S FIRST *ECLOGUE* AND THE MIGRATION TO AFRICA.

THOUGH Vergil's First *Eclogue* begins with a note of gratitude, its real purpose soon becomes apparent as a protest against the senseless wars that resulted in cruel evictions and the migration of Italy's innocent peasantry to Africa and the other provinces.<sup>1</sup> Since land was being expropriated for 170,000 soldiers, it is only likely that fully as large a number of peasants were evicted, and the emigration which Vergil mentions must have been a real fact. Mr. Heitland has recently<sup>2</sup> questioned the supposed migration to Africa without considering all the inscriptional evidence. Africa was after all the most inviting of Rome's provinces for prospective settlers. Marian, Gracchan, and Julian colonists were already prospering there, the province was gaining a reputation for productivity,<sup>3</sup> Sallust had recently called attention to its wealth by carrying home immense treasures thence, Sittius had established himself as a royal sheikh at Cirta, and there were still vacant and public lands to be had. But quite apart from probabilities, the inscriptions of the province of Africa picture a state of things that can be adequately explained only by supposing that Vergil's words are to be taken seriously, and that very many Romans migrated to Africa in the decade or two following Philippi.

Before Caesar's day there was no officially organised colony in Africa, though a few thousand Gracchan and Marian followers had been settled *viritim* west of Carthage. Caesar gave colonial status to Cirta, but the soldiers of the adventurer Sittius were largely native Africans. Caesar also gave orders to rebuild Carthage and to send a colony there, but, as coins and the religious

cults prove, a large part of the new population of Carthage consisted of returning natives. Augustus sent veterans to Uthina and Thuburbo, and probably to Sicca and Maxula. All four of these places are on Pliny's list (V. 22, 24, 29) of colonies, and were therefore on the Augustan list which Pliny used. We have inscriptions from the three former places which prove them Augustan foundations. An inscription of the Roman Forum shows that some soldiers of the thirteenth legion were settled in Uthina,<sup>4</sup> and a recent African fragment reveals that members of the eighth legion were sent to Thuburbo.<sup>5</sup> These colonies probably belong to the settlements of 29 and 14 B.C.

Now this is all the official colonisation in Africa of which we hear, and yet Pliny's list (V. 30), the source of which is some official document of Agrippa's time, gives fifteen towns as *oppida civium Romanorum*. Most of these towns had existed long before the Romans came and bear African names. Of the fifteen Utica alone seems to have been granted the rights of citizenship. Presumably the rest, or most of the rest, were *oppida c. R.* by virtue of a remarkable influx of Roman citizens who had become the predominant element in the population, and were administering the towns, or at least their portion of each town, on Roman formulae.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.L.* VIII., p. 2427, and Dessau, *I.L.S.* 6784; cf. *C.I.L.* VIII. 885 and *L'Année Épig.*, 1909, No. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *C. R. Acad. Ins.*, 1913, p. 436; *Année Ép.*, 1915, No. 37. Others were settled in Berytus, in Forum Julii, and at Fanum Fortunae. For Sicca, see *C.I.L.* VIII. 27568: *Divo Augusto conditori Siccenses*.

<sup>3</sup> Not all of the fifteen are explained by recent immigration. Utica had been granted *civitas*; Thigiba, Uchi Majus, and Vaga were in the region where Marius had distributed lands to soldiers, and we may presume that the presence of these colonists had long attracted Roman migrants to these towns. Simitthu, on the other hand, was an old Punic

<sup>1</sup> 'At nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros' (l. 64).

<sup>2</sup> *J.R.S.*, 1918, 42; *Agricola*, p. 348.

<sup>3</sup> Nepos, *Atticus* 12; Cic. *Pro Caes.* 30; Horace, *C. I.* 1. 10 and III. 16.

Furthermore, there is a second class of cities which also indicates a considerable influx of Romans in the Augustan period. There are five towns which later assume the name of *Colonia Iulia*, though they were not officially so called in the days of Augustus. These are Curubis and Neapolis, which were *oppida libera* in Augustus' day (Pliny V. 24), Hippo Diarrhytus (Bizerta, called *civ. lib.* on Augustan coins), Assuras (called *oppidum civ. Rom.* in Pliny), and Carpis (*oppidum*, Pliny V. 24). Since these towns did not actually acquire true colonial status till the second century, there has been some question as to why they then assumed the name *Iulia*. As Dessau has said,<sup>1</sup> an inscription of Bizerta (C.I.L. VIII. 25417) shows that a similar claim was made in the early Empire in two of the towns. In this inscription the people of Carpis, or a part of Carpis, call

town that had grown up near the famous Numidian marble quarry. After the fall of Carthage the quarry was little used until Augustan architects began to call for the marble again, and it was doubtless these quarries which attracted enough Romans to make the town predominantly one of citizens. Of the others we know very little.

<sup>1</sup> *Klio*, 1908, 457 f.

themselves *Coloni Col. Iuliae Carpitanae*, and they address the people of *Col. Iuliae Hipp. Diarrh.* as *consanguinei*. He believes that both cities had double administration, and that the *coloni* of these cities were settled by Julius Caesar. The double administration is probable, but that Augustus should have demoted Julian colonies formally planted is highly improbable.<sup>2</sup> The explanation seems to be that many Roman immigrants had come into these towns; that Augustus, perhaps after Agrippa's survey had been made, gave such groups of immigrants a separate pagan administration, so that they were inclined to assume by a slight extension of the term the position of Augustan *coloni*; and that, finally, when their towns received colonial status they adopted the name *Iulia*.

At any rate, we have abundant evidence in the lines of Vergil and in the strong element of Romans within these two classes of old Punic towns for the assumption of a large migration of Romans to Africa in the early Augustan period.

TENNEY FRANK.

<sup>2</sup> The assumptions of Kornemann (*Philologus*, 1901, p. 413) are based upon incomplete data.

## NOTES ON HORACE.

### I.—*Odes* III. x. AND xxviii.

THE former ode is usually given a pretty frigid reception by editors. Yet it is (in its class) an excellent piece of work and can teach the elegiac specialists a few lessons.

Throughout there runs the customary strain: 'Pity, not Pride.' Intermingled are two motives, the one assisting the poet's amorous enterprise by the suggestion of what may be called the Possibilities of the Situation, the other relieving the poet's injured feelings by the expression of his displeasure in terms of insult.

It is the former motive which raises the piece above the level of most compositions of the kind.

Thus, in vv. 1-2 *si biberes . . . saevo nupta uiro* implies, if the lady has the wit to draw the inference, 'Your

husband is civilised and unlikely to be severe towards your infidelities.'

In v. 11 *Penelope* implies, 'Your husband is not at home and all will be safe'—since for a wife to be even a faithless Penelope the first condition is the absence of her Odysseus.

In vv. 15-16, *nec uir . . . curuat* suggests, 'Your husband is not a husband when he is at home.'

All this persuasion is delicately, deftly, and wittily introduced.

The insult is more obvious, as it is more conventional; but all is directed against mental or moral, not physical, shortcomings. The lady is disreputable, disloyal, heartless. And so her vanity can be comfortable.

But though clever this ode cannot escape a charge of coarseness, because it is so frank.

The same cannot be said of *Odes* III.

xxviii., where we have a more 'polite' and subtle way of conveying a similar invitation to a lady.

There Horace and his Lyde will drink and sing, manly and feminine, in turn. Then the crowning lay will be of Venus, sung together: until the 'politeness' just avoids breaking down with *merita nox quoque nenia*. Trivial as these neglected odes may be in some respects, they may nevertheless serve a useful purpose in guiding to a right estimate of contemporary masters of elegiac verse.

## II.—Odes III. xxvi.

Is it possible that editors misunderstand the whole situation when they interpret the last stanza as a (more or less) comic surprise volte-face on Horace's part—Horace will not and yet he will? Thus, Kiessling (R. Heinze): 'vergebens hat der Dichter um Chloe geworben' usw.

The abruptness, almost intolerable, involved in this interpretation may be

avoided, if we suppose that Horace has come to terms with Chloe and has agreed to abandon promiscuous amours.

Away from the literary conventions of chivalry, it is not at all strange that the bachelor who is about to contract an alliance of some duration should regard the happy occasion as the close of his services to Venus and as the proper time to dedicate his arms to that goddess.

Horace's arms are all such as the bachelor needs for his adventurous campaigns.

He gives up the weapons of violence because as a lover protesting fidelity he must, and in the surrender he expresses his fidelity in poetic fashion.

But with an old campaigner's caution he himself wants a guarantee. If Chloe, in spite of her vows, prove troublesome or fickle, Venus is to avenge her disarmed veteran. *Semel arrogantem = si semel arrogabit*. There is some sense in *semel* so understood.

D. L. DREW.

## THE PROEM OF LUCAN.

THAT the blood spent in civil war might have been more usefully employed in the conquest of Rome's enemies is a thought which Lucan did not originate: Horace had employed it in the seventh *Epode*, where he speaks of Carthage and of the Britons, the conquest of whom was at the time repeatedly discussed. Lucan says that the price of civil war would have secured East, West, North, and South (15-18):

unde uenit Titan et nox ubi sidera condit  
quaque dies medius flagrantibus aestuat horis  
et qua bruma rigens ac nescia uere remitti  
astringit Scythico glaciale frigus pontum.

The next couplet deserves special attention:

sub iuga iam Seres, iam barbarus isset Araxes  
et gens siqua iacet nascenti conscia Nilo.

At first sight the Seres, the Araxes, and the dwellers by the sources of the Nile may well seem to have been selected as types of distant peoples: we might compare Horace, *Odes* III. 29, 25.

tu ciuitatem quis deceat status  
curas et urbi sollicitus times  
quid Seres et regnata Cyro  
Bactra parent Tanaisque discors,

or I. 29, 7, *puer . . . doctus sagittas tendere Sericas arcu paterno*. If, however, we remember that Nero sent a detachment of praetorians to explore the sources of the Nile, that Lucan's uncle Seneca, from whom Lucan drew not a little of his information, speaks of the expedition (*Nat. quaest.* VI. 8. 3), and that there is reason to date its return in the summer of A.D. 63, we shall be disposed to attach more meaning to line 20. Nero in 66 probably intended to make an expedition against the Axumite kings of Abyssinia;<sup>1</sup> it is reasonable to assume that this early movement was in the nature of a reconnaissance, and that it was known or believed at Rome to be such. If we turn back to line 19, the name *Araxes* may recall to us Corbulo's brilliant campaigns in Armenia, in the course of which he burnt Artaxata on the Araxes in 58, and established Rome's authority in that country.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. Schur, *Die Orientpolitik des Kaisers Nero* (*Klio, Beiheft* XV., 1923), 42 f., for the date 93, 99 ff., 112 for the later plan.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Stein, *Pauly-Wissowa, Suppl.* III. 405 f.

Even the Seres are relevant, if we accept an attractive hypothesis recently maintained by Schur, that Nero's projected expedition to the Caspian Gates aimed at securing the great Northern route for trade between the West and China.<sup>1</sup> We do not hear of this expedition before 66, but it may well have been contemplated earlier, as Schur argues,<sup>2</sup> and a project to secure the trade route to China might be magnified into an attempt to reduce that country to submission.

In the light of these facts Lucan's words seem to come into the correct historical perspective. Written and recited before his breach with Nero, they mean, in effect, 'Rome's power, rightly used, might have attained earlier what it attains or is about to attain under the beneficent rule of Nero.' It is probably because Lucan is thinking of Nero that he ignores the fact of Armenia's submission to Pompey. As here Lucan reflects Imperial plans and aspirations, so later in his apotheosis of Nero (l. 45 ff.) does he reproduce ideas current at the time, while adapting a Virgilian model, the beginning of the first *Georgic*. Nero has two choices offered, *sceptra tenere*, to be Jupiter, or to mount the car of Phoebus and be the

Sun. Now as Ζεύς Ἐλευθέριος he was hailed by the grateful Greeks in 67. He may well have been so regarded even earlier, as were Theophanes of Mytilene and Augustus. Calpurnius Siculus, *Ecl.* 4. 142, holds that he may be Jupiter in disguise, and coins of Dioshieron in Lydia have as their obverse-type busts of Nero and Zeus, with the inscription ΖΕΥΣ ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ.<sup>3</sup> As νέος ἥλιος Nero received homage at most times: that he liked the part is shown by the fact that he set up a colossus of the Sun with his own features in front of the Golden House.<sup>4</sup> We must recognise in Lucan what Weinreich has proved for the *Apocolocyntosis* of Seneca, that in what seems to us extravagant flattery he is speaking the conventional language of the age, and expressing notions widely held.<sup>5</sup>

A. D. Nock.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mattingly, *J.R.S.* X. 38, *B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* I. clxxxiv.: for Theophanes see Dittenberger *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup> 753; for the coin of Dioshieron, *B.M.C. Lydia*, 75. 7 (Riewald, *Diss. phil. Hal.* XX. 3, 301, doubts whether identification is here implied, yet Nero is at least in some sort a νέος Ζεύς).

<sup>4</sup> Mattingly, *B.M.C. Rom. Emp.* I. clxxiii. f.; cf. *J.R.S.* XIII. 105 f. The relevance of this to the words of Lucan was seen by L. Paul, *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher*, CXLI. (1894), 409 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Senecas Apocolocyntosis* (1923), 38 ff. An inscription at Alabanda in honour of Augustus, Ἀπόλλωνος Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ, may perhaps imply that he is identified with Apollo and with Zeus Eleutherios (as Dittenberger urges, *Or. graeci inscr. sel.* 457 n. 1).

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* 63 ff. On the trade route see M. P. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes of the Roman Empire*, 98 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Klio* XX. (= *N.F.* II.), 215 ff.

#### LEXICAL NOTES.

ἐξαιρέτα · ἀναλώματα.

ON a bomos at Laodicea Combusta of the third century A.D., published by Heberdey and Wilhelm, *Reisen in Kilikien*, p. 161, no. 268, it is said that the dedicators ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐξερῶν ἔστησαν μνήμης χάριν. That ἐξ(αι)ρέτα in this text means simply ἀναλώματα is shown by another third-century inscription of the same city, published in *Ath. Mitt.*, 1888, p. 249, no. 44, which should read (Ramsay and Calder, 1911; Calder, 1925): Ἀδρ. Γάιος κὲ Διομήδης κὲ Μαρίων Μείρων πατρὶ κὲ μητρὶ Παύλῃ ἀνέστησαν μνήμης χάριν. τάδε ἔλαχεν τῷ Μαρίωνι τὰ ἐξέρετα · ἐποίησε τὸν βωμόν. The three brothers joined in the dedication; Marion paid the bill.

ἐπιψηφίζεω · ἐπισφραγίζεω.

In the Resolution of the Stage Guild now lying in the Augusteum at Angora, published by D'Orbeliani in *J.H.S.*, 1924, pp. 35 f. (cf. W. H. Buckler, *ibid.*, pp. 158 ff.), the reading

ἐπιψηφισεν (l. 17) is certain (Calder, Cox, Cullen, 1925). In the sense of ἐπισφραγίζεω, which it must bear here, ἐπιψηφίζεω appears to be new.

ἔχειν πρὸς.

On the *locus classicus* for this phrase, II. *Cor.* 5, 12, Moulton and Milligan are silent. For its Pauline and literary sense 'have wherewith to answer,' see the commentators *ad loc.*, and Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II., p. 172, note 1. The expression is used in a similar but distinct sense in Christian inscriptions of the later third and fourth centuries, where ἔχει or ἔξει πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, used of the violator of the grave, corresponds exactly to the better-known formulae δώσει λόγον τῷ Θεῷ and ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν. The form ἔσται πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, which occurs rarely, is probably an illiterate variant of the latter phrase. See *J.R.S.*, 1924, pp. 37, 85-88.

ἰδία μοῖρα, a natural death.

In Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics*, etc., p. 328, no. 133, we read: Ἀδρ. Εἰρηναῖος εἰσπρατιώτης



ἐστρατεύετο ἐνδόξως, πολλοὺς ὤλεσεν στάς<sup>1</sup> διὰ χειρῶν, ἐτελείησεν ἐν Δυκίᾳ λιμύροις εἰδὼν θανάτῳ. e The best comment on this text is that published d in the same work, p. 339, no. 187: 'Ἐρμῆς Δουκίου Γῆ' Ἀλόπου γυναικί κέ 'Ερμῇ ὑφ' προμοίρῳ ἀνέστησε μήμης χάριν· εἰ μὲν ἰδίᾳ μοίρῃ, ὠφίλει, εἰ δὲ χερ[σ]ῇ δολωποίοις, 'Ἢλιε, βλέπε (I follow the copyist's copy; on the concluding invocation, see now Cumont in *Atti d. Pont. Accad. Rom. di Arch.*, Ser. III.; *Memorie* I. 1, pp. 65 ff.). The same expression occurs in *Orac. Sibyll.* XII. 175: αὐτὸς δ' αὖ πύσεται, μοίρῃ ἰδίᾳ καταλύσας, with which compare Eur. *Med.* 146, θανάτῳ καταλυσαίμαν. Cf. ἰδιοθανεῖν, ἰδιοθανατεῖν, ἰδιοθάνατος, wrongly explained in L.S. (8th edn.), and contrast βαιοθανατεῖν, *ibid.*, and βιοθάνατοι in Cagnat, *I.G.R.P.* III., p. 518, no. 1529.

W. M. CALDER.

### SENECA, *PHAEDRA*, 85-88.

O magna uasti Creta dominatrix freti  
cuius per omne litus innumerae rates  
†tenuere pontum quicquid Assyria tenus  
tellure Nereus peruius rostris secat . . .

*peruius* A. The latest editor, Dr. Herrman (Budé series), reads:

*tellure Nerea peruius rostris secas,*

which, though better than Leo's and Richter's attempts, still leaves something to desire in point of neatness, for it is odd to say that *Crete* 'cleaves with the beak those waters which her ships occupy.' I suggest that the foundation of criticism in this passage is to recognise that *TENVERE* } is an evident dittograph. We then ask, which of these is genuine? Answer: *tellure*, since the phrase *Assyria tenus tellure* is a solid phrase, whereas *tenuere* is de trop. Why de trop? Because the phrase *innumerae*

*rates* . . . *rostris secant* (for MSS. *secat*) makes another verb needless. Remains the problem how to recover the defining phrase.

1. What word has *tenuere* extruded? The word that is required to express extent, *patentem*. We now have *cuius innumerae rates pontum patentem* . . ., *rostris secant*.

2. The next question is, *quid patet pontus?* And the answer *pontum patentem quicquid Assyria tenus tellure Nereus peruius*, 'All the navigable seas between us and Syria.'

If anybody be a stickler for E against A in details, it would perhaps not be indefensible to construe *quicquid peruius* (est) *Nereus* as = *quacquam peruius est Nereus*; but it would be odd, and less probable; for faults of copyists which destroy a genuine word nearly always entail minor interpolations accommodating the ruins to the intrusive matter.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

### MARTIAL XII 59 9.

(See VOL. XXXIX pp. 200 f.)

I CAN now provide *dexiocholus* with a stouter defence than the imprudent improvisation of Mr Heraeus. Men lame of the right leg were to be dreaded because it was unlucky to meet them. Lucian *pseudol.* 17 ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ τοὺς χωλοὺς τῷ δεξιῷ ἐκτραπέμεθα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἔωθεν ἰδοίμεν αὐτοὺς, Pliny *n. h.* XXVIII 35 'despuimus comitiales morbos . . . simili modo et fascinationes repercutimus dextraeque clauditis occursum,' wrongly explained in *thes. ling. Lat.* III p. 1306 17 and V p. 922 9.

The metre and the missing vocative, about which I wrote in *C.Q.* XIII p. 79, may now be restored thus:

hinc <, Rex, > dexiocholus, inde lippus.

Cicero's correspondent in *fam.* XIII 52 is addressed solely by this cognomen, 'Cicero Regi s.', 'fac igitur, mi Rex, ut intellegat.'

A. E. HOUSMAN.

<sup>1</sup> The editor alters to ὤλεσε [λι]στάς.

## REVIEWS

### OUR DEBT TO GREEK MYTHOLOGY.

*Our Debt to Greece and Rome: Mythology.*

By JANE ELLEN HARRISON. London: George Harrap and Co., Ltd.

IF ever Miss Harrison was accused by the more straitlaced of our Hellenists of wandering too far afield in the ways of anthropology, of taking excessive interest in the undoubtedly intriguing doings of peoples with dusky faces and woolly heads, she may now be acquitted without a stain upon her character. For the paths of anthropology have only led her back again, with a conviction worth far more than if she had

never strayed — that whatever of savagery may have lingered round the Greek even at his highest development, the really interesting thing about him is not his savagery but his Hellenism. This little American series has given her the opportunity to put her convictions in a nutshell, and to state what she regards as the significance of that mythology which the Greeks fashioned out of the simplicities of primitive thought in which, like other members of the human family, they had their beginnings. Their achievement has

never had better expression. The Greeks 'started with the same religious material as other races, with fear of the unseen, with fetish worship, with unsatisfied desire, and out of this vague and crude material they fashioned the Immortals.' 'We owe to Greek mythology the heritage of a matchless imagery, which has haunted the minds of poets and artists down to the present day; and, second, . . . the release of the human spirit, in part at least, from the baneful obsession of fear.'

The book is far from being a mere essay on the title. Miss Harrison's method here is to take in turn each of the more interesting and perplexing figures of Greek mythology, and to trace the successive stages of development from vague and primitive powers to the clearly defined, humanised gods familiar in poetry and myth. Hermes, with his perplexing attributes of Herm-pillar, caduceus, commerce, and wayfaring is pulled to pieces, till we see clearly how these diffused ideas were welded somehow into an individual personality. So with Poseidon—more bewildering still—we see how the bull-god of an agricultural people, who were also seafaring, picked up the horse-god of a sea-going race who had settled down to horse-rearing in Libya. Her warning that Poseidon was always a god of the crafts of the

sea, and not of the element itself, is useful in a popular book as a corrective of a misconception that is too common in connexion with Greek mythology. The movements of peoples, evidenced by excavations, are emphasised to explain the distribution of cults, though it is not necessary to accept all Miss Harrison's racial equations. The series of gods thus dealt with includes the Mountain Mother, Demeter and Kore, Artemis, Apollo, Dionysus, and culminates very effectively in Zeus, who, as the least primitive of the whole pantheon, the most god-like according to modern conceptions, gives the full measure of the Greek ascent from the primitive strata of thought in which they made their beginning.

If the book has a fault, it is in being better suited to readers familiar with *Prolegomena* and *Themis*, and with Miss Harrison's somewhat elliptic style, which is inclined to flatter the knowledge of her readers; and she is still wilfully incapable of resisting the latest fad and fangle of fashionable psychology. All who have cared for her work or had the privilege of her teaching will welcome this further word from her in her old field of mythological study, and will find themselves pleasurably reminded, not only of their debt to Greece, but of their debt to Jane Ellen Harrison.

DOROTHY BROOKE.

### THE SONGS OF SAPPHO.

*The Songs of Sappho.* By MARION MILLS MILLER, Litt.D., and DAVID M. ROBINSON, Ph.D., LL.D., Litt.D. Pp. xiv + 436. Lexington, Kentucky: The Maxwellton Company. Price not stated.

DR. ROBINSON'S work on *Sappho and her Influence* was reviewed in these columns earlier (C.R. XXXIX. p. 194). To the present volume he contributes (a) a 'critical memoir,' which seems to be abridged from his larger work (it is at any rate of the same character), (b) an essay on the recovery and restoration of the Egyptian relics, of about the scope and quality of an average well-informed Extension Lecture, and (c) a revised text of the Greek remains of Sappho, to which he contributes practi-

cally nothing of his own, with a few notes and a prose translation of each. I have not detected any omissions in his research.

Dr. Miller's contribution, consisting of translations 'into rimed verse' is more original. He defends his attempt to produce rhyming English Sapphics, and quotes the statement of Mr. Ernest Govett that 'his' (Dr. Miller's) 'translation of this hymn' (to Aphrodite) 'is unquestionably the best in our language.' A specimen will illustrate the nature of the experiment:

Quickly thou camest; and, Blessèd One, with  
smiling  
Countenance immortal my heavy heart be-  
guiling,  
Askedst the cause of my pitiful condition—  
Why my petition:

What most I craved in brain-bewildered  
yearning;  
Whom would I win, so winsome in her spurning;  
'Who is she, Sappho, evilly requiting  
Fond love with slighting?'

In general Dr. Miller seems to me to be more successful in native English metres; but his renderings are apt to exaggerate the humour with which he so emphatically credits the poetess. He takes liberties, too, and will construct

you a complete poem out of three or four brief fragments; but he is not alone in overlooking the fact that Sappho gained her reputation by writing what others could not write.

On the whole this is a book for dilettanti. Indeed, what we have before us is a limited edition, signed by the authors—an attractive volume, save that one sheet came unsewn after a couple of hours' handling.

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

### THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE OLD COMEDY.

*Chronologie der altattischen Komödie.*

Von PAUL GEISSLER. Pp. 80. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925. 4 Marks.

THE chronology of the Old Attic Comedy has been the subject of many discussions in recent years, and the work of Wilhelm, Capps, Oellacher, Jachmann, and others has added greatly to our knowledge. What was above all wanted was a short and business-like summary of the ascertained results and the points still in dispute, with the arguments clearly and succinctly given; and this is provided by the present book. It is, however, more than a summary, and contains more original work than the author's modest account of himself would suggest. His judgment throughout is sound and clear, and many of his own suggestions are convincing.

The book opens with a discussion of the vexed question whether the lists of Comic victors give the names of the composers of the victorious plays or of the διδάσκαλοι; on this point he agrees with Kaibel and Capps, who think that the names are those of the poets

throughout, as against Wilhelm, Wilamowitz and Jachmann. This point settled, the testimony of the inscriptions is summarised and discussed; here Geissler accepts Dittmer's view as regards the number of lines in the important Roman inscriptions (I.G. xiv., 1097, 1098), though differing from him as to some of his restorations. After a few paragraphs on the measures supposed to have restricted the freedom of the poets, and upon the number of plays presented by each poet for competition, the book gives a chronological survey of the plays of the Old Comedy, stating the evidence for each play briefly, but with adequate references to other discussions. For convenience, the discussion is divided into five periods—before 430 B.C., 430-421, 421-411, 411-400, and after 400. It is impossible in a short review to follow it in detail; it must suffice to say that the work is very well done, and the book will be indispensable for any thorough study of the Old Comedy.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

### THE INFLUENCE OF ARISTOPHANES.

*Aristophanes: His Plays and His Influence.* By LOUIS E. LORD, Professor of Latin, Oberlin College. (Our Debt to Greece and Rome.) Pp. xi + 181. London: G. G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1925. 5s. net.

THIS book is one of a series which contains both good and bad volumes, and should stand fairly high in the list. When the limited space is considered, the work is well done, and the book as

a whole is readable. The first chapter deals briefly with the origin and general characteristics of Greek comedy and gives a short description of the theatre. The account of the origin contains a few doubtful statements—e.g. (on p. 6) that the Dorian music-like farces (including apparently the works of Epicharmus and Sophron) 'were intimately familiar and the jests were made almost exclusively at the expense

of persons who were in the audience.' This seems to be the exact opposite of the truth. Nor does it appear to be true (p. 7) that the Athenians denied the claim of the Megareans to have originated comedy with a 'virulent vigor'; they once or twice refer to Megarean comedy with contempt, but that is another thing. It may be doubted whether the men 'riding on ostriches or dolphins' (p. 14) really represent comic choruses. But these are small matters, belonging, in any case, to a region in which nearly everything is uncertain. Chapter II. gives a sketch of the Athens of Aristophanes which is substantially sound, though a fastidious reader may revolt against such sentences as that which states that 'the jazz jaundice had attacked music and was casting a pale and sickly hue over the countenance of the good old battle-hymns.' The account of Aristophanes' plays in Chapter III. succeeds in the really difficult task

of summarising these in a readable manner, and without neglect of essentials, in 40 small pages. Then the writer passes to the poet's influence, and his treatment of the period from the fifth century down to Lucian is quite satisfactory. The last three chapters, dealing with the influence of Aristophanes on German, French, and English writers respectively, are less attractive, being rather sketchy and disconnected. This is not surprising in view of the amount of ground to be covered; but a less strictly chronological and geographical arrangement might have permitted a more interesting account of the different kinds of influence which the poet has had. For scholars who desire a full treatment of the subject, the excellent work of Süß, *Aristophanes und die Nachwelt*, will still be indispensable; but Professor Lord's little book may be commended as giving at least an accurate history in outline.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

#### OUR DEBT TO ARISTOTLE.

*Our Debt to Greece and Rome: Aristotelianism.* By JOHN LEOFRIC STOCKS. Pp. vii + 165. London: G. G. Harrap and Co., Ltd., 1925. 5s. net.

PROFESSOR STOCKS'S volume is a very welcome addition to the series of which it forms part. He has judged wisely in making it an exposition of Aristotle's main thought rather than an essay on the Aristotelian tradition. More than half of the book is covered by the chapter on *Aristotle's World*, that is on the general theory of God, Man, and Nature which runs through the Aristotelian corpus. A brief *Prologue* and *Epilogue* deal with the few known facts about the philosopher's life and his inheritance from Socrates and Plato, and with the subsequent fortunes of his doctrine. The central chapter forms a piece of clear and accurate exposition in singularly simple language, reasonably exhaustive and eminently balanced. It can be heartily recommended both to the intelligent reader who wants an accurate statement of Aristotle's main positions and to the intending special student looking for a first introduction to his fuller studies. Mr. Stocks quite

properly avoids the numerous unsolved problems which confront us when we go beyond Aristotle's express words and ask how much more he ought to have said if he meant to remove all our perplexities. In view of the gravity of some of these problems, I feel that a little too much is made of the 'consistency' of the philosopher. I am sure that Mr. Stocks himself is far too well read in Aristotelianism not to know how very difficult it is to make Aristotle consistent with himself on most of the ultimate issues without suppressing half of his own utterances. Perhaps it would be a higher compliment, and nearer the truth, to say that Aristotle's mind never ceased growing and, for that reason, never reached final consistency with itself. The accuracy of Mr. Stocks's account of the philosopher's definitely formulated positions is such that almost the one definite slip I observe is the inclusion of envy in a list of 'emotions' which are 'neither good nor bad' (p. 90), though the *Ethics* expressly says that *φθόνος* is 'always in an excess,' and therefore always vicious.

One or two of the statements in the

generally judicious *Prologue* strike me as unfortunate. It is not *known* that the Academy was founded in the precise year 387 B.C., nor is it the 'traditional' view (p. 26) that the autobiographical section of the *Phaedo* is a history of Plato's own mind. This is a modern and very absurd speculation. It is quite inconceivable that at the end of the fifth century Plato should have puzzled over the question whether the earth was 'round or flat.' Even those who can believe that Plato constructed a wholly fictitious spiritual history for his hero ought not to be able to believe *this*. How can Mr. Stocks say (p. 27) that in the *Phaedo* 'Socrates' narrative places the good or final cause definitely but politely in the second place'? Or again that by the 'original' doctrine about Forms Aristotle means that held in the Academy when he himself joined it (p. 31)? If Platonism had been revolutionised within Aristotle's own personal memory, how came he never to mention the fact?

I am sorry to learn from the *Epilogue*

that Mr. Stocks discredits Strabo's account of the long concealment of Aristotle's manuscripts. I believe that if he had been able to ponder longer over the problems raised in Jaeger's *Aristoteles* he would have seen that some such loss and rediscovery is absolutely necessary to account for the curious fate of the once admired Aristotelian dialogues; they were killed by the re-appearance of *our* Aristotle. The brief account of mediaeval Aristotelianism does not get the perspective quite right, and it is an error of fact to suggest that William of Moerbeke was *beginning* to make his translations of Aristotle in 1273. This would have effectually prevented St. Thomas, who died in the following year, from profiting by his friend's industry. It is a pity that the *Bibliography* does not mention at least one work dealing with the history of Aristotelianism in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, e.g. Gilson's *La Philosophie au Moyen Age* or Baeumker's contribution to the history of Philosophy contained in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*.

A. E. TAYLOR.

## TWO ANTHOLOGIES OF GREEK.

*The Pageant of Greece.* Edited by R. W. LIVINGSTONE. Pp. xii + 436. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Cloth, 6s. 6d. net.

*Readings from the Literature of Ancient Greece* in English Translations. Edited by DORA PYM. Pp. 342. London: Harrap. Cloth, 3s. 6d.

THESE books are intended primarily for those who know no Greek and for the ordinary reader rather than the student, but they will also be very valuable to those who are studying the language but are not yet able to read at any pace. At this stage a boy of any intelligence wants to know not only about the author he is reading but also about Homer and Aeschylus and others of whom he hears. These books, which give well-chosen passages from good modern translations of the greatest Greek writers, help to supply the required knowledge, and in a very readable form. My own experience is that many boys will, with a little encouragement, read quantities of such literature in an

easy-going, unsystematic way, but with great advantage; above all, their interest in Greek is increased by this voluntary reading, and their belief that the classics are worth working at is strengthened. Mr. Livingstone gives them 436 pages to browse upon. 'It is not,' as he says, 'a mere anthology. I have tried, as far as possible, to piece the passages together in a continuous whole, and, further, to trace the growth of Greek literature, and indicate the historical background in which it is set.' I need hardly say that all this is admirably done; Mr. Livingstone's introductions and comments add greatly to the interest and value of the extracts.

There is also an edition 'abridged for use in schools' (240 pp., 2s. 6d.), a very good book for the money; but those who can, should get the full edition; in the other many good things are necessarily omitted.

Mrs. Pym's is a somewhat easier and simpler book on the same lines. It is



printed in large, clear type, a delightful book to dip into at one's leisure, useful too, but not quite full enough, for more systematic study. 'The principle of selection,' says the editor, 'has always been the power of a certain extract to interest the reader who knows no Greek, and the standard in choosing the translation has always been simplicity rather than literary style, though

fortunately . . . the best literary version is often the simplest.' Mrs. Pym shows good judgment in her choice. I have tried this book and her companion volume *Readings from the Literature of Ancient Rome* with boys aged about fourteen who have gone a little way in Latin and Greek, and have found both books very popular.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

### SOME GREEK VOLUMES OF THE LOEB LIBRARY.

*Homer: The Iliad.* With an English translation by A. T. MURRAY, Professor of Classical Literature, Stanford University, California. In two volumes. 1925.

*Aristophanes.* With the English translation of B. B. ROGERS. In three volumes. 1924.

*Polybius.* With an English translation by W. R. PATON. In six volumes: I., II., III., IV., 1922-5.

*Dio's Roman History.* With an English translation by E. CARY on the basis of the version of H. B. FOSTER. In nine volumes: VII., 1924.

(The Loeb Library. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam. Cloth, each volume 10s. net.)

IN a bilingual series Homer is best rendered into prose rather literal than not. Dr. Murray has struck a happy mean, 'true to the kindred points of Heaven and Home.' I have tried his version in many places, and have found it careful and judicious; the textual notes are businesslike; and the comments at the foot of the English tell much in little room. Perhaps rather more attention might have been paid to variant views of the meaning: for example, at I. 277-9<sup>1</sup> and XIV. 413. The Englishing of proper names is a thing for compromise, and I do not mind 'Aias' beside 'Peirithous': but why 'Achaea,' which is not even good Latin? There are slight misprints in the notes on X. 530 and XIII. 229, but in general the printing is very correct. The preface is discreetly 'unitarian.' There is a full index of proper names.

Readers who know some Greek but not very much—and to such the Loeb Library does its best service—will make little out of a literal translation of Aristophanes, and it is a happy arrangement which has given this series the use of Rogers's famous verse. Short selections from his introductions and notes have been made by the general editors, and plain English is suffixed in places when his version runs wide of the Greek, or plain Latin where it runs thin. To judge from a single play, this work is well done, though Tyre and Syme are different places (*Thesm.* 804), and 'priggish' is not quite right for ὑώδεις (273): *τουτὶ τὸ ῥῶ μοχθηρόν*. Each volume has an Index, which gives information supplementary to the notes. From the first of the three we learn that Harmodius was the brother of Aristogeiton, and that Socrates died in 499; from the first, that Simonides died in 467, from the second, that he died in 457; from the second and the third, that Pylos was taken by the Athenians in 424. Still, here is Rogers cheap at last.

Paton died in 1921, but it seems that his translation of Polybius was already complete. The short introduction is by H. J. Edwards, who died in 1923; and the editors of the series are seeing the work through the press. They might well have added a select *apparatus criticus*, and more notes on the matter of the text. As it is, text and translation are left very bare; the four volumes have only a few score footnotes. The Greek text is unadventurous. Ridiculous readings such as *Μασσαλίας* in II. 32. 1 and *στρυγύτητα* in III. 20. 3 are printed and translated without

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* for 1903, p. 12.

warning; so is the mistaken conjecture *Δία λίθον* in III. 25. 6, 7. In the Greek text I have found very few misprints, but in the English text and the notes there are a good many slips—e.g., I. 73. 2 'quinqueremes' for *πεντηκοντόρους*, 75. 5 n. 'Bagraclas, II. 14. 11 n. 'Siniglia,' 19. 6 'Santinum,' III. 13. 5 n. 'Castala,' 61 'Quaestors' for *ἀγορανόμων*—and a few bad mistakes: 'its course, its reason, and its results' for *διὰ τίνων* (III. 3. 2), 'Seleucus the son of Nicanor' (X. 27. 11). Each volume has its own Index. Index IV. is careful, scholarly, serviceable; Index I. presents such items as *Aegros flumen, Amílcar, Ananes*, which occur neither in the English nor in the Greek, and it bestows on Antigonos Gonatas all that belongs to Doson; Index II. distinguishes these two men, though wrongly, but cannot tell Antiochus Magnus from Epiphanes, and its Latin admits such forms as *Canna, Cappadoci, Cephallení, Corinthiaci*; Index III. distinguishes, wrongly, two Andromachi, but confuses two Antipatri. It is a pleasure to add that Paton's version is on the whole good, and a most welcome

relief from the priggish and ponderous Greek.

Dr. Cary's useful translation of Dio goes its workmanlike way. The present volume comprises Books LVI. to LX. The text cleaves to Boissevain; too closely, for in LVI. 3. 7 Bekker's ungrammatical conjecture *πολυπληθία* (where the accusative is necessary) was blindly accepted by Boissevain and is here handed on. On the other hand, good suggestions at LIX. 28. 9, 10 ('*τι]οί?*' and '*οἷ]τι*') and plenty elsewhere are ignored. Let me make two conjectures in passing. In LIX. 19. 4 *ἐπιλέγων* is absurd; the Vatican Excerpt (see Boissevain III., p. 738) points to *ἔτι λέγοντος*, 'while the accuser was still speaking,' in contrast with *ἐπειδὴ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἐδόθη*, 'when it was the defendant's turn to speak.' In LX. 15. 1, *οὗτος τε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἐς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Γαίου θάνατον προβληθέντων ἦν*, for *ἐκ* I propose *εἰς*. In LVI. 10. 2, *ταῖς ἀειπαρθένοις πάνθ' ὅσάπερ αἱ τεκνοῦσαι εἶχον ἐχαρίσατο*, the editors read *τεκούσαι*: but is it likely that error should have yielded the Sophoclean word?

E. HARRISON.

### THE NEW LIDDELL AND SCOTT.

A Greek-English Lexicon, compiled by H. G. LIDDELL and R. SCOTT. A new edition, revised and augmented throughout by H. Stuart Jones, with the assistance of R. McKenzie. Part I.: A-*Ἀποβαίνω*. Pp. xlv+192. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Paper, 10s. 6d. net; composition price for the whole work (ten parts), £4 4s.

No need to dwell upon the merits of this work, for it has been well advertised, and has been eagerly awaited by every scholar who deserves so great a boon.

Room for new matter has been made chiefly by a stricter code of abbreviations, by grouping cognate words under a single lemma as far as the alphabetical order allows, and by omitting many items which come from Patristic or Byzantine sources only. Pending the appearance of the Lexicon of Patristic Greek, and the Modern Greek Lexicon, we can perhaps spare the whole tribe

of 'Eccl.' and 'Byz.', though we shall have to use the eighth edition a little with the new. As to the abbreviations, we must bear with 'sts.' for 'sometimes,' but I wish that 'Dem.' for 'Demos-thenes' had been retained, since 'D.' followed by numerals only is apt to escape the eye. Nor do I like the grouping of important words under less important, as when *ἀγων-άρχης* heads the paragraph which includes *-ία, -ιάω*, and *-ίζομαι*. Another improvement, which would add very little to the bulk of the book, would be to give us sections, as well as books and chapters, in references to Herodotus and Thucydides. Look at the length of Hdt. 9. 26 or Thuc. 5. 47.

I pass to some details.

*ἀβρωσία*. Since many 'received' conjectures are recorded, this word should be cited from E. Hipp. 136. Similarly, *ἀδαής* should be cited from Theognis 296 and 1310.

*ἀγνώη*. Thuc. 5. 85 is still quoted with the discredited reading *ὕμῶν*.

*ἀγωνία*. This article might have made use of what Paton wrote in *C.R.* XXVII. (1913) 194.

*Ἀθῆναι* means Attica in *Hom. Od.* 3. 278 as well as in *Hdt.*

The omission of *ἀέλπολος*, *ἀκμάς*, and *ἀμφιφών* shows that the *Oracula Chaldaica* have not been fully explored.

*ἀλεξικακός*. *Ar. Pax* 422 is no evidence that *Hermes* was so called.

*ἀμαθής*. For *not heard of*, *unknown* are cited only *E. Ion* 916, where see Murray and Bayfield, and *Thuc.* 1. 140, where I take the meaning to be something like 'the turn of events may go as *stupidly* as the intentions of the individual man'—in the spirit of the saying, 'Nature is sometimes guilty of a very foolish sunset.'

*ἀνακούω* deserves mention for the sake of one view of *Soph. El.* 81.

*ἀνὰ κρουσίς* in the modern sense has been ejected; a good riddance.

Under *ἀνάσιλλος* or *ἀνάσιμος*, or both, should be cited *Herodas* 4. 67.

Under *ἀναταράσσω* we miss *ἀνταράξας*, *Solon ap. Ar. Ath. Pol.* 13. 5.

Under *ἀναφαίνω* the mistake 'romancer' for *λογογράφος* survives, though under that word itself the eighth edition gives the true meaning, 'speech-writer.'

*ἀνευ* need not mean *except, besides*, in *Pl. Critias* 112c, the only passage cited for that sense apart from the use with *τοῦ* and an

infinitive. A better instance is *ἀνευ τούτου* in *Dem.* 23. 112.

At the end of the article *ἀντί* the older editions gave *ἀντιφωρμος* and *ἀντιτυπος* as their examples of *ἀντί*, meaning *corresponding, counter*, in composition. The new edition substitutes *ἀντιφωρτος*, which is not a good example. Doubtless *ἀντιμωρτος* was meant, a word on which I had something to say in *C.R.* XXXIX. (1925) 55.

Under *ἀπάντησις* 'foreg.' is now misleading; and *meeting* is inadequate to Cicero's use of the word, for which see Tyrrell and Purser's *Greek Index* to his *Correspondence* (vol. vii., p. 123).

*ἀπείρητος* should be cited from *Theognis* 572 and 1104b, where it is used of men not tried and proved.

On the new edition's haphazard treatment of proper names see G. C. Richards in *Journ. Theol. Stud.* XXVII. (1925), 76. A good many addenda are given by P. Maas in *Gnomon* I. (1925).

Lest would-be buyers of this great work should be deterred by the fates of *Passow-Crönert*, which has stuck at *ἀνά* since 1914, and of *Epitome Thesauri Latini*, which expired on the word *aedilis*, be it noted that almost the whole 'copy' of the new Liddell and Scott (so the publishers tell us) is ready for the press. E. HARRISON.

## A NEW MAGICAL PAPYRUS.

*Papyri Osloenses*. Fasc. I: Magical papyri edited by S. EITREM. Pp. 151, with thirteen plates. Published by Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo. Oslo, on commission by Jacob Dybwad, 1925. 20 kroner.

THE magical papyri of London, Paris, Leiden, and Berlin have been known to students for many years: Wessely's texts and indices, and the editions of Parthey, Dieterich, and Kenyon have made them accessible. Professor Eitrem, who in a series of papers has corrected a number of misreadings or misunderstandings in existing editions of the known papyri, has had the happy idea of writing a comprehensive commentary on a new papyrus of this kind which he bought recently in the Fayum. This idea he has carried out in a manner which it would be hard to praise enough; by his work and Hopfner's recent *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* the study of the subject is placed on a new footing.

This papyrus, like others of its kind,

contains a number of magical recipes. As we have them, they have been copied by a writer in the fourth century of our era: in their origin they probably go back to the Hellenistic age. Hence we can understand the familiarity with their contents shown by Theocritus (cf. l. 70 *ἀγι* [= *ει*] *δὲ ἄνδρας γυνεξίν καὶ γυνέκας ἄνδρεσιν καὶ παρθένους ἐκπηδᾶν οἴκοθεν ποιεῖ* with Theocr. II. 136 *σὺν δὲ κακαῖς μανίαις καὶ παρθένον ἐκ θαλάμοιο καὶ νύμφαν ἐφόβησ'* *ἔτι δέμνια θερμὰ λιποῖσαν ἀνέρος*, and Eitrem 49. 136), and again by Lucan in *De bello civili* VI. All cults could be laid under contribution by the magician; Eitrem has remarked on the continued importance in them of the old Egyptian religious centres (p. 56), and also on the influence of the Septuagint and of Jewish and Christian doxologies (pp. 49, 108). In general it would be hard to add much to his notes, which contrive at the same time to give a mass of detailed information, and also to set in a clear perspective the larger problems

of religious history which arise in connexion with the text. Some points of detail may be noted. On p. 82 Eitrem says of the magical figure reproduced on Plate VII., 'Between the legs we observe a connecting-link which I am not able to explain.' Is it a fetter? (We may compare the representation of Attis with fettered feet<sup>1</sup> on the coins of Cyzicus, *B.M.C. Mysia*, 41 n. 175, Plate XI. 1, 50 n. 236, Plate XIII. 7, as explained by H. von Fritze, *Nomisma* IV. 36 f.) In illustration of the acclamation l. 216 ἀγαθέ(= -αι) σου ὦραι, ἀγαθέ σου ἡμέραι, we should quote one found at Rome, καλή σου πᾶσα ὥρα, Σάραπι *Inscr. gr. ad res rom. pert.* I. 105). Here it is addressed to the Sun, who is invoked as ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τοῦ κόσμου: it will be remembered that Nero, elsewhere honoured as νέος ἥλιος, was in Alexandria venerated as νέος ἀγαθὸς δαίμων (*B.M.C. Alexandria* 20, n. 171, Plate XXVI. J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, I. 28, notes documents in which he is called ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης). Eitrem deals in several notes with the significance of the papyrus

<sup>1</sup> A fettered Ares will be discussed in our next number.—ED. C.R.

for the development of liturgical form. On p. 46 he discusses the shift from the second person, as τέλει, to the third person, as γυγνέσθω; it may be noted that a similar variation occurs in the Oscan curse of Vibia (R. G. Kent, *Class. Phil.* XX. 258).

In addition to the large magical papyrus, 371 lines in length, this fascicule includes two fragmentary texts, an exorcism, a Christian amulet earlier published by Eitrem and Fridrichsen with a valuable commentary (*Ein christliches Amulett, Videnskapsselskapets Forhandlingar*, 1921, i.), and a horoscope.

The commentary on the chief papyrus and the translation thereof are written in excellent English. The format of the book is excellent; print and paper are very good, and the photographic plates are very valuable as reproducing the strange magical drawings. Typographical errors are few (p. 1, *though* for *thought*; p. 26, l. 1, 162 for 102; p. 81, Plate VI. for VII.; p. 84, Plate VII. for VIII.; p. 102, note on l. 276, P. Leid. 9. 1 for P. Leid. V. 9. 1). To commend such a work to the public is no small pleasure; εὐφρων πόνος εὐτελέσασιν.

A. D. Nock.

## THE GREEKS IN SPAIN.

*The Greeks in Spain.* By RHYS CARPENTER. (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs.) One vol. Pp.viii + 180; 25 plates (mostly photographs; one or two sketches), 2 sketch-maps inside covers. Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College; London: Longmans, Green and Co. 7s. 6d. net.

THE author attempts to bring together into a connected outline the slender data available for Greek intercourse with Spain before the Roman period, and discusses the bearing on the story of certain artistic finds. A careful examination of the thousands of bronze statuettes found at Sta. Elena has convinced him that the influence of sixth-century Ionia is to be seen in three of the figures, but no Greek influence of a later period, and this accords, so far as it goes, with what we know of the Phocaean occupation of Tartessos, which he believes to have

been brought to an end by Carthage not later than 500. Similar evidence is to be found in the S.E. district. A Greek origin is claimed for the much-discussed Lady of Elche, and Greek inspiration for the statue from Cerro de los Santos known as Lady 3500, while the remarkable hooded and other figures from the same place are attributed to the native art when left to its own devices. Architecture can scarcely be said to exist (one fragment is discussed), but pottery again shows sixth-century Greek influence, and apparently no later contact until Hellenistic and Roman times. At Emporion, on the other hand, higher up the coast, we find clear evidence of an uninterrupted settlement from the end of the sixth century down to the Roman period, with such indications of prosperity as the fragment of a vase attributed to Makron, and the statue of Asklepios, which the author adduces

cogent reasons for regarding as an original Greek work of the fifth century.

Professor Carpenter believes that he has found the true site of Hemeroskopion at Punta d'Ifach, and that Strabo wrongly confused it with Dianium, the modern Denia. Apart from Strabo's statement everything seems to favour this identification, to which the author's argument and photographs lend the strongest support.

This evidence does not carry us very far, but where all is so dark even a little light was to be welcomed. Unfortunately Professor Carpenter's beam does not shine with consistent steadiness,

and in the all-important district of the S.E., the modern Murcia, his exposition fails altogether. He seems to have formulated two alternative theories about Greek influence in this region, one making the middle of the fifth century a terminus ad quem and the other a terminus a quo; and they play Box and Cox through his pages, while the Lady of Elche with obliging impartiality lends her support to one or other in turn. The results are disastrous, and in no way remedied by the otherwise convenient chronological table, nor by the belated attempt to mend matters in an appendix. There is a useful bibliography.

E. W. V. CLIFTON.

### THE METGE CLASSICS.

*First Series* : Xenophontis *Memorabilia*, libri IV. Recognovit CAROLUS RIBA. Barcinone: ex typis Editorial Catalana, 1923. Pp. iv + 135. 4 pesetas 50 centimos. Xenofont, *Records de Sòcrates*. Traducció de CARLES RIBA. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, 1923. Pp. xiv + 142. 4 pesetas 50 centimos. L. A. Sèneca, *De la Ira*. Text i traducció del Dr. CARLES CARDÓ. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, 1924. Pp. xli + 208. 7 pesetas 50 centimos. M. T. Ciceró, *Brutus*. Text i traducció del Dr. GUMERSIND ALABART. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, 1924. Pp. ix + 208. 7 pesetas 50 centimos. M. T. Ciceronis *Orationes* I. (*Pro P. Quinctio*, *Pro Sex. Roscio*, *Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo*, *Pro Tullio*). Recognoverunt I. M. LLOBERA, I. ESTELRICH. Barcinone: ex typis Editorial Catalana, 1923. Pp. vi + 126. 4 pesetas 50 centimos. Ausoni *Obres* I. Text i traducció de CARLES RIBA i ANTON NAVARRO. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, 1924. Pp. xviii + 240. 7 pesetas 50 centimos. *Second Series*: Plató, *Diàlegs* II. (*Càrmides*, *Lisis*, *Protàgoras*). Text i traducció de JOAN CREXELLS. Barcelona: Tipografia Emporium, 1925. Pp. 290. 7 pesetas 50 centimos.

IN reporting to readers of the *Classical Review* (vols. XXXII. p. 123, XXXV. p. 29) the formation of the Budé and Paravia classical libraries, Professor

Lindsay expressed the hope that Holland might soon follow suit. His wishes appear to have been anticipated by Catalonia, where the distinguished liberality and culture of Señor Cambó, admittedly the ablest financier among Spanish political leaders, and the erudite enthusiasm of Dr. J. Estelrich have created the Metge foundation for the edition and translation of Greek and Latin classics. These may be obtained in two forms—the 'basic' edition, issued at 7.50 pesetas per volume (bound in cloth, 9.50 pesetas), contains the classical text and Catalan translation, along with a biographical and bibliographical introduction in Catalan; but the languages may be separated so as to form two volumes (at 4.50 pesetas), the one containing the text and its *apparatus criticus*, and the other the Catalan version and introduction. The 'basic' edition may be purchased in separate volumes or in series of ten; the latter alternative costs in Barcelona 60 pesetas, abroad 80 pesetas, with an addition of 2 pesetas per volume when the cloth-binding is required.

The Bernat Metge Foundation takes its name from the writer whose style is regarded as the most pure example of the Catalan language, the translator of Petrarch's *Griselidis* and imitator of Cicero's *Tusculans*. In this he is in some measure a counterpart to Guillaume Budé, and the French series

running under this name is the immediate model of the Catalan; indeed, rearranged under a different chairmanship, and on one occasion meeting on the following day, the Metge committee is transformed into the Catalan section of the Association Guillaume Budé. They have taken over from the senior body the general disposition of their issues, and an unusually attractive font of square, black Greek lettering. The Latin type they use is, however, of a better quality, the subordination of the notes more marked, the paper whiter, and the margins wider, so that the total effect of the Metge typography is of a higher beauty than the French, and compares on equal terms with the best English work. Equally, or even more, notable is the accuracy of the proof-reading in a country where specialised typesetters do not exist, and this reflects the highest credit on the editors. The first series, issued in 1923 and 1924, included works of Lucretius, Nepos, Cicero, Seneca, Ausonius, Plato (the Socratic dialogues), and Xenophon, some of which are listed above; the second continues the edition of Plato, and includes also Tibullus, Propertius, Tacitus, Pliny the Elder, Aulus Gellius, Quintus Curtius, and Plutarch. The programme of the Foundation envisages the edition of all the works of the authors selected, so that, for example, those of Ausonius, when completed, will occupy three tomes. There is a considerable bias in favour of the Latin classics.

The texts are eclectic, with a conservative tendency. Each work is accompanied by an elaborate statement of the manuscript tradition, and a more moderate enumeration of editions later than the *principes*; but it does not appear that reference has been made in any case to the manuscripts themselves, this statement serving rather as an exposition of the authority under which the Catalan editors agree with or differ from the leading modern issues. Of these, four—the Teubner, Budé, Oxford, and (to a limited extent) the Paravia texts—are taken into account. Cicero's *Orations* follows readings intermediate between the Oxford and the Budé, and includes a list of its variations from the

revised Teubner; the *Brutus* is Teubner collated with Oxford and Budé; the *Memorabilia* mainly Teubner, as the editor considers the Oxford text too conservative; the *De Ira* most resembles Budé. For Ausonius the editors have had before them the Teubner issue, which they have compared with the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, and with the late Professor de la Ville de Mirmont's redaction of the *Mosella*; they have, however, profited by the sympathetic interest of the latter scholar, and on that ground 'a considerable part of this our edition can be considered original and superior to its predecessors' (p. xviii). In general, within the limits of 'editions of editions,' the Metge texts are worthy of the attention of serious scholars. In the introductions and annotations an English reader cannot fail to note the comparatively small influence our scholarship has had on these issues. Apart from the relevant Oxford editions, I have noted only a remark by Dakyns (*Classical Review* VII., p. 259), another by Lord Macaulay, a reference to Mr. Bernard Russell, and Sister Byrne's notes on Ausonius. The quotations made from our tongue are first-hand, and bespeak a certain familiarity with our studies; the editors are very well-read in German and French criticism; they recur at all points to their originals, and at their best, as in the introductions to Seneca and to Ausonius, could hardly be surpassed for concise, first-hand and relevant information by M. Boissier himself.

The principal interest of the translations consists in their modern application. The Catalan Renaissance has been disposed to seek inspiration too exclusively in the latest novelties of the Quartier Latin, and Dr. Estelrich and his colleagues propose to withstand these degenerate enthusiasms by referring the cultured public of Catalonia back to the permanent models of taste and conduct—*quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*. The matter is thus presented with an eye to actuality, which may sometimes discourage a minute accuracy of rendering (e.g. οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιψηφίσαι—*s'oposá a la votació*), but undoubtedly makes for read-

ableness, usually accompanied by strict fidelity. The Catalan language, eminently pliable in vocabulary and rhythm, and almost entirely free from preconceptions of phrase, is an admirable instrument for translation; and that the Metge Foundation has already achieved success as a preceptor of modern prose style may be inferred from Dr. Montoliu's judgment that Father Cardó's version of Seneca has discovered a new resonance and conciseness in the Catalan tongue. The *Memorabilia* is destined to become in Barcelona, as in Athens, the ethical code of the practical citizen; Seneca's eclectic Stoicism still retains its

curious affinity with Spanish moral tendencies, and no doubt Plato's dialogues were selected for translation on similar grounds. Some English readers may feel inclined to combine classical reading with the acquisition of a most interesting neo-Latin tongue, and all champions of the historic disciplines must be interested in this large-hearted attempt to base a modern culture directly on the texts of antiquity. In no part of Europe do literary conditions present to the classical disciplines anything so like a *tabula rasa*, and the success of Dr. Estelrich's projects cannot fail to be deeply instructive.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

### SCHOOL BOOKS.

THE following five books are in the Clarendon series (3s. 6d. net each) in which the author's work is presented partly in the original and partly in translation. All the editors feel strongly the interest of the works they edit, and know a great deal about them; I feel sure that the boys and girls for whom they write will like these books and learn much from them.

THE GEORGICS are edited by the late John Sargeant (who wrote *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil*) and T. F. Royds (the author of *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*). The notes give much interesting information about the life of the countryside. It seems a pity that some of the most attractive passages (e.g. II. 136-176 and 490-542) are given only in translation. One looks for *Felix qui potuit* and one finds 'Happy the man who has been able to learn the causes of things.' If only the text were printed beside it, a prose version such as this would interest and instruct many young readers; they would not regard it as unattractive English, but as a help to the understanding of Virgil, as a model worthy of imitation. But without the text it is of little value. Fortunately Mr. Royds has taken 'the liberty' of giving in many places a verse translation instead of Sargeant's prose. He has used sometimes his own blank verse, sometimes R. D. Blackmore's rhymed translation. Most boys will read these and enjoy them.

AENEID VII.-IX., edited by R. A. Knox. This is a very lively edition; the notes are written in a forcible, unconventional style, e.g. 'If you have any sense you will learn these lines by heart.' The editor prides himself on not following modern fashions. He has a great affection for 'the old blue "pocket" edition of the Clarendon Press' (was not Parker the publisher?), 'the edition in which I first met Virgil, in which I carried him about with me when, at an important moment of my life, I half looked to him as a counsellor.' So he prints *jam* and *quum* and *latè*, and puts the long mark over certain final syllables. As he says, 'a few simple typographical devices may make a world of difference'; yet he does not mark the quantities in the Vocabulary, except here and there, and the reader who is in doubt how to pronounce a new word will look in vain for guidance. This is a very serious defect. Why not show the difference between *arbore* and *clangore*, *cāno* and *cāno*? If Vocabularies are given, they ought to be not less helpful than a general dictionary; it is, of course, easy to make them much more helpful.

HANNIBAL'S INVASION OF ITALY (i.e. Livy XXI.-XXII., reduced to about 80 pp., parts of the text being represented by summary) is a very stimulating book for boys of about fourteen. Mr. J. Jackson is an admirable editor. He has sound knowledge, an interest in his subject which makes him care to verify



every statement, great power as a writer. His Introduction is a remarkable piece of work; it tells so much and tells it so well. He is, I think, a little too fond of pointing out Livy's faults. One reads too often such words as 'the merest phrase-making,' 'placing one more blunder to Livy's account.' Is it not more important to make boys feel that Livy is well worth reading? The Vocabulary is good, but need one be so parsimonious as to print *imp-ono, -osui; anc-eps, -ipitis*? This obscures the etymology and encourages a bad pronunciation; the saving of space is negligible.

In his edition of *THE CLOUDS* Mr. Cyril Bailey makes use of the spirited translation written by himself and Dr. A. D. Godley for the performance of the play by the O.U.D.S. in 1905. Of course some passages are omitted; for class use it would perhaps be better if the vigorous rendering of line 193 were cut out. The Introduction and Notes are full of good teaching for a boy who is just beginning to be a scholar. Here and there I wish the editor had given us a little more; e.g. on the translation of 275 ff. (*ἀέταιοι Νεφέλαι*) he says, 'This is one of the most beautiful pieces of Aristophanes' lyric writing, and the Greek should be read to get the sound and rhythm of it.' But he does not quote the Greek. He has some very good remarks (p. 23) on the language. 'We gain from it a clear notion of current Athenian idiom . . . we must be ready at any moment to detect the change into a mock-tragic style—marked by a greater strictness of metre.' I wish he had added a page or two on the iambic trimeter, showing the main differences between tragedy and comedy. A full exposition of the metre—something like Hardie's in *Res Metrica*, but easier—would add greatly to the value of any edition intended for this stage. It is a subject in which boys are easily interested, but it needs to be treated at length with plenty of examples. The Vocabulary has many good points, but the scholar who made it for Mr. Bailey has not been at all particular to keep to

'current Athenian idiom'; indeed, Aristophanes would be vastly amused if he could read some of the forms of common verbs which are here ascribed to him; e.g. he would learn that the future of 'to hear' is *ἀκούσω*, that of 'to go' *ἐλεύσομαι* (or *εἶμι*). One might as truly say that in modern colloquial English the past of 'to climb' is 'clomb' (or 'climbed').

Dr. J. T. Sheppard is well qualified to edit the *Hecuba*. He admires the play and helps one to appreciate it as a work of art; his stage directions and notes on the dramatic effect of some of the lines are unusually good. Nor does he neglect linguistic difficulties. I think it would be well to give the reader, who will probably have read no other play, a little more help in the Vocabulary; e.g., such a form as *οὔμός* may be new to him; if he needs to look up *μολεῖν* will he know that it 'comes from' *βλώσκω*?

Messrs. Methuen publish (1) *LATIN UNSEENS FOR MIDDLE FORMS*, selected by L. D. Wainwright (1s. 6d.); (2) *LATIN PASSAGES FOR TRANSLATION AT SIGHT*, selected by Hilda Richardson (2s.), intended especially for students who are reading for a Pass degree. Both are good. The passages are of suitable difficulty and of interest, many of them of remarkable interest, out of their context. References are given and an index of authors by which one can easily find any piece.

*CAMILLA*, a Latin Reading Book, written by Maud Reed (Macmillan, 2s.), 'is intended primarily as a story book, and its object is to stimulate the interest and imagination of the child until that stage is reached when real Latin may be tackled.' Miss Reed is very successful. She is herself much interested in Italy and Greece (both ancient and modern), and her stories, written in an easy, fluent style, will arouse the interest of her young readers and help to accustom them to Latin. As the Romans have left us no continuous easy writing, we must supply the deficiency.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

## VERSES AND TRANSLATIONS.

1. *Ros Rosarum*. By A. B. RAMSAY. Pp. vi+126. Cambridge: University Press, 1925. Cloth. 6s. 6d. net.
2. *Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus*. Translated into English verse by J. H. HALLARD. Fourth Edition. Pp. xvi+217. London: Routledge; New York: Dutton. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
3. *The Sonnets of Shakespeare with a Latin Translation*, by A. T. BARTON. Pp. vi+155. London: Hopkinson, 1923. Boards, 18s. net.

1. MR. RAMSAY'S book deserves its pretty title: his verses, whether Latin or English, original or translated, are dainty things. In Latin, which chiefly concerns the *Review*, his translations, written in many metres, give ample proof of his resource and dexterity; but we find his original verse even more attractive. For this purpose he uses the elegiac metre by preference. He has a pleasant and kindly fancy, a sure command of good Latin, and a fine ear for metre. Some of the couplets are not the least attractive things in his little book; here is a pretty puzzle which hardly needs an Oedipus:

*ova anatum in campo tu me, puer, auspice  
frangis;  
deme novem: passer quo capiatur, habes.*

*Sal, merum sal* is the natural comment. Martial, after receiving a good deal of preliminary instruction, would have enjoyed this couplet: in fact, Mr. Ramsay might have ventured to send his *passer* to Martial.

2. Mr. Hallard's translation of Theocritus into English verse is now published in a fourth revised edition. It has evidently found readers and given them pleasure. The main peculiarity which distinguishes it from other translations of Theocritus is the great variety of metres employed—'nearly a score,' says the author in his preface. We do not ourselves feel that the bucolic hexameter needs to be translated in so many different ways, but we are conscious that Mr. Hallard has studied the text with care and uses his twenty metres with skill. The charm of Theocritus is an evanescent thing, and we find more of it in Lang's prose translation than in any other rendering known to us.

3. A. T. Barton's translation of Shakespeare's Sonnets into Latin elegiacs, first printed in 1913, is here issued as No. II. of the New Aldine Library.<sup>1</sup> The printing is beautiful; but the text is not entirely free from errors: xcvi, 1 begins *te sin*.

Owing to the language of the Sonnets, always pregnant and sometimes very obscure, such a translation is a task of great difficulty. Many scholars have picked out a Sonnet here and there and turned it into elegiacs; but to translate the whole series is a very different matter. We are told that for forty years Barton gave the leisure of a busy life to this task. The rendering is remarkable for terseness of expression and closeness to the original. If some passages hardly read like Latin, it is because the writer has carried this closeness too far.

The style and metre are unlike Ovid: the verse is slow and weighty; it reminds one rather of Lucretius. Yet Barton steadily observed the disyllabic ending for the pentameter; though the seven pentameters of cxlvi all end with words like *imperio*, we have noticed no other exceptions.

We quote three versions of the conclusion of xviii, by Kennedy (*Between Whiles*, p. 13), Barton, and Mr. A. B. Ramsay (*Ros Rosarum*, p. 51), and have arranged them in the order of our preference:

- (i.) nunquam vana suis te Mors adscriperit  
umbris,  
sed tuus aeterno nomine crescet honos:  
dum spirare homines, oculi dum cernere  
possunt,  
vivit teque vetat nostra Camena mori.
- (ii.) Mors nihil ipsa suis de te iactabit in um-  
bris  
Carmine in aeterno dum sine fine vires;  
Donec homo spirabit enim, poteritque  
videre,  
Vivit in hoc uitae carmine causa tuae.
- (iii.) Longius—errantem nec Dis iactabit in  
umbris—  
traxeris aetatem, vate vetante mori.  
Dum spirant homines, dum pascunt lumina  
visus,  
vivit et, ut vivas, haec mea Musa facit.

J. D. DUFF.

<sup>1</sup> No. I. is a handsome reprint of *The Thoughts of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius* translated by George Long (10s. 6d.).

## THE DIRECT METHOD.

*Latin on the Direct Method.* By W. H. D. ROUSE, Litt.D., and R. B. APPLETON, M.A. University of London Press, Ltd., 1925. 7s. 6d. net.

*Primus Annus.* By W. L. PAINE and C. L. MAINWARING. Second edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 3s. net.

DR. ROUSE will presumably be known as the last of the Headmasters. The title continues to be awarded to personages whose staff is chosen by Governors, whose curriculum is determined by the Board of Education, and whose finance is regulated by Viscount Burnham, but whose ambition goes no further than to take over a system which is in excellent working order, and to pass it on uninjured to their successors. Dr. Rouse himself has undertaken to remodel and inspire the minds not only of his scholars but of his colleagues; and, bringing to his task a wide scholarship, unflinching determination, and an all-absorbing sympathy with boy nature, he has won a success which no one disputes. But on the question whether that success is due to the man or to the system which he advocates opinions differ.

By the 'Direct Method' in the teaching of French we mean the policy of so surrounding the pupil with a French atmosphere that he learns the language as a child does, without conscious effort. Since the surroundings of a French child do not differ greatly from those of an English pupil, the change is almost entirely in words. This is impossible with Latin. To translate into Latin 'Open the window, look at the aeroplane, poke the fire, and then brush your trousers,' we should need first to create a new Latin language; and, having acquired it, should have made very little progress towards any of the aims which are extolled by those who believe in classical education. Messrs. Paine and Mainwaring grapple boldly with this difficulty by giving lessons first in geography, and then in the daily life of the Roman pupil and the Roman soldier. Their book is attractive and richly illustrated; the grammar is short and well-chosen. In

the Syntax difficulty occurs, and presumably further explanations in English are not excluded; even so common an idiom as *adime mihi* is passed over, although *ferulae subduximus* is one of the earliest phrases introduced by Mr. Appleton. The passive voice and the subjunctive mood are not reached either in the accidence or the syntax. Thus attention is rightly concentrated for the first year on the vocabulary. Mr. Appleton finds that *Primus Annus* is dull and uninspired, but this may be the price necessarily paid for a carefully elaborated system.

Those who read the account of the work done in the first four years of the Perse School course will be astonished at its compass and interest, and will not be disposed to question its value. Strictly speaking, it cannot be called 'Latin on the Direct Method,' for at no stage is the use of English excluded. But it is Latin enlivened by a direct appeal to the eye and ear, and by a complete familiarity on the part of the teacher with all the tools of his trade. It is well insisted that the teacher must constantly be reading Latin for himself, thus breathing the atmosphere with which he wishes to encircle his pupil. When the time comes that the learner has familiarised himself with the elements, the English language will be increasingly used both for translation and comment. The advocates of the 'Direct Method' do not altogether ignore the usual criticisms that the method allows the duller pupils to evade their task, and that in the earlier stages it lacks the interest which attaches to the reading of 'real Latin.' It is hardly likely that these books will make many converts, but they should root out the common belief that the teaching of the elements is an easy or a mechanical task; the teacher must be thoroughly interested in the work before he can inspire interest in others. The vicious lack of system, by which each class teacher is allowed to use his own methods, ought certainly to be no longer tolerated; but if all the teachers in a school pull together, experience will show how much share can wisely

be allotted to each instrument of progress. To say the least, the advocates of the Direct Method are all

alive, and this is the first condition of success.

E. V. ARNOLD.

### MODONA'S CORTONA.

*Cortona etrusca e romana nella storia e nell' arte.* By A. NEPPI MODONA. Pp. xix + 186. Twenty-seven plates + sixteen plans and illustrations in the text. Florence: Bemporad, 1925. Lire 55.

THIS is, as its title implies, a monograph on the history and archaeology of Cortona in the classical period. In Part I. (43 pages) the author discusses at some length (perhaps unnecessary) the various accounts of the origin of the city, particularly the traditions of a Pelasgian settlement there which are preserved by Hellanicus and Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> It is comforting to find that after all the author does not attach overmuch value to these traditions, and concludes that Cortona was founded by the Etruscans at a date unknown, and after a period of prosperity and power made terms with Rome about 310 B.C. That is really all we know of the history of the city.

For Part II. (Archaeology) there is more satisfactory material. The author describes first the remains of the Etruscan city-walls—the 'diadem of towers' of Macaulay's *Lays*—and of various Etruscan and Roman buildings within the city, assigning the oldest parts of the walls to the sixth and fifth centuries. We are grateful for the reminder (pp. 50-51) that the distinction between the 'polygonal' and 'quadrangular' styles of masonry depends less upon date than upon the kind of stone used. The next chapter deals with the Etruscan tombs in the neighbourhood of Cortona, in particular the 'Tomb of Pythagoras' (which is tentatively assigned to the fifth or fourth century B.C.), the Tomba del Sodo, and the 'Melone' of Camucia, which

must be included in the group of 'orientalising' tombs of the eighth and seventh centuries, along with the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Caere, the Bernardini and Barberini tombs at Praeneste, and certain tombs at Vetulonia, Veii, Tarquinii, and Cumae.<sup>2</sup> Subsequent chapters describe the inscriptions and sepulchral urns found in and near Cortona, the painting known as the 'Muse Polyhymnia,' the Etruscan bronzes (including, of course, the famous lamp) in which Cortona is particularly rich, and finally the coinage. The author's commendable caution in accepting unproven theories (a virtue not always found in Etruscologists) is shown by his criticism (p. 169) of Milani's association of the so-called 'Attis' coins with the Corybantic religion of Phrygia and Crete.

To attempt any detailed criticism of this book would demand an acquaintance with Cortona and its monuments which the present reviewer does not possess. It will be read with interest by any lover of antiquity who contemplates a visit to Cortona, and will prove a valuable book of reference to students of the architecture, the bronze-work, and the coinage of ancient Etruria. Other volumes in the same series, which emanates from the University of Florence, deal with the Aeolian Islands, the archaic necropolis of Populonia (by Professor A. Minto), and the Cults and Myths of Magna Graecia. Further such monographs on the archaeology of (e.g.) Tarquinii, Volsinii, or Veii will be welcomed by all interested in Etruscan studies.

R. A. L. FELL.

<sup>1</sup> Dionys. I. 28. 3, 29. 3; Hdt. I. 57.

<sup>2</sup> See Karo in *Bullettino di paleontologia italiana*, XXX. (1904), pp. 1-29.

## WHERE HANNIBAL PASSED.

*Where Hannibal Passed.* By ARTHUR RIVERS BONUS, Indian Civil Service (retired). One vol. Pp. viii + 88; 12 illustrations (from photographs) and sketch map. London: Methuen, 1925. 7s. 6d.

THE author's theory is that 'Hannibal crossed the Rhone at Tarascon,' and after 'crossing the Rhone he intended to march up that river to its confluence with the Isère, thence up the latter stream to Grenoble, and so to Vizille at the lower end of the defile of the Romanche; up this defile to Bourg d'Oisans; over the Col de Lauteret and down the valley of the Guisane to Briançon; and thence over the Mont Genève pass into Italy.' . . . 'Everything went according to plan until he arrived at Briançon. There he was led astray by the local guides. They lured him up the valley of the Cerveyrette to the Col de Malrif, on approaching which the tribesmen attacked his column; and after this the Carthaginians found their way down to Abriès, and finally into Italy over the Col de Malaure.'

But why should Hannibal choose this ridiculous route for going from Tarascon to the Mont Genève, when there was a direct route along the Durance all the way? The author's answer is that Livy 'expressly states that Hannibal's route from the Rhone crossing was not the direct route to the Alps.' Livy's statement is that Hannibal kept clear of Scipio by diverging from the direct route. I

imagine that Hannibal resumed the direct route as soon as he found out that Scipio had re-embarked.

The distances that Hannibal marched are given in Polybius, III. 39. The author gets rid of them by rejecting III. 39 and calling it Pseudo-Polybius. He does not, however, attribute III. 50. 1 or III. 56. 3 to his Pseudo-Polybius; and these passages say that Hannibal marched 100 miles in ten days and 150 in fifteen days. That is an average of 10 miles a day, whereas the author repeatedly assumes an average of 22 miles a day. Without these assumptions of his, his route for Hannibal is much too long.

The author says, 'What had evidently struck Polybius more than anything else in what he had seen of Hannibal's route was a surprising view, from the pass, of the plains of Italy lying below.' There is such a view from the Col de Malrif and from the Col de Malaure; and the author makes Hannibal cross both these Cols, though there is nothing in Livy or Polybius about two views. The Col de la Traversette commands as good a view; and as he brings Hannibal to Abriès, he might as well take him over the Traversette, that being (as he admits) an easier pass than the Malaure. Hannibal could have reached Abriès from Tarascon by following the Durance and the Guil—a much more likely route.

The author has been over the ground, and gives good photographs of what he conceives to be Hannibal's Pass.

CECIL TORR.

## LATIN LITERATURE BEFORE GREEK INFLUENCE.

*La letteratura latina anteriore all' influenza ellenica.* By ENRICO COCCHIA. Three vols. Vol. I., pp. x + 264; Vol. II., pp. vii + 197; Vol. III., pp. xi + 397. Naples: Rondinella and Loffredo, 1924-25. Vol. I., Lire 12; Vol. II., Lire 10; Vol. III., Lire 20.

FOR the one or two brief chapters of mingled tradition and conjecture found in the standard histories of Latin literature as to the origins and character of the native Latin (or Italian) produc-

tions older than direct or indirect Hellenic influence, Professor Cocchia has sought to substitute a much larger bulk of ascertained fact—not three volumes, for what is knowledge of that early Latin literature (and few will be found nowadays to deny its existence altogether) will not fill three volumes. There can be no history (except an imaginative one) of a literature which is unknown save in a few short fragments, and those, at least as we have

them, of no very great literary interest. The first and second, then, of Professor Cocchia's volumes are devoted to an analysis of a considerable number of the myths, traditions and legends embodied in the transmitted literature; for Professor Cocchia sweeps away the generally accepted view that Latin literature was in the main inspired by Greek literature as involving an impossible literary 'miracle,' an incredibly rapid assimilation.

After stating this extreme view, which is to be condemned for its extremity just as much as the view that denies Latin literature any native genius whatsoever, he submits to a critical examination—as a sample (*cf.* also his essay 'La leggenda di Coriolano e le origini della poesia in Roma' of 1896)—the traditional account of the Gallic invasion and of the subsequent episode of Camillus, and deduces the existence of a native Roman *saga* (Vol. I, chapter 1-3). The remainder of Vol. I. and part of Vol. II. contain a similar study of the mythology that grew up around Roman religion (he deals in great detail with the myths associated with the cults of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Janus, Diana, Mars, the Lares and the Manes), with results that are hardly likely to commend themselves to serious students of Roman religion. Next more legends, from Evander onwards, are analysed in turn (rest of Vol. II.).

Anyone who has ever attempted a similar piece of work will well know that in all this Professor Cocchia is working over a field that is full of snares and pitfalls. There is hardly any branch of Classical research in which there are so many false turnings to entice the adventurous, which is so exposed to individual interpretations

and arbitrary conclusions, and which so seldom yields any solid results, as the attempt, nearly always vain, to disentangle the old from the new, the native from the exotic in the traditions of early Rome. Up to a certain point foreign invention (usually Greek) can be detected at a glance; after that you may 'prove' (to your own satisfaction, perhaps, if you be not too critical of your own work) anything you wish, and you cannot even verify your own conclusions. Many dusty volumes, from Klausen's downwards, have been compiled in this idle endeavour. And Professor Cocchia, whose way is what the French call 'très personnel,' and at times almost wilful, goes very much his own way. Even in his third volume, where he is on surer ground in dealing with the few extant monuments of the oldest Latin, theory preponderates. It is excellent that he looks beyond Rome (the dialects are laid under contribution wherever possible, *e.g.* in his study of *elogia*), but the results to be gleaned are necessarily meagre owing to sheer lack of materials. No attempt is made to investigate the story of the *novi poetae*, the movement (Professor Lindsay calls it 'Keltic') which prepared the way for Vergil.

It would be hard to overpraise the industry which Professor Cocchia has brought to his well-nigh impossible and in part fruitless task; the lively style in which he has set forth his views; and the ingenuity with which he supports them. But it must be confessed that amongst much in his book which those who are interested in the springs of Latin literature will find that is new, there is little which they will find that is convincing.

J. WHATMOUGH.

### ROM ÜBER ALLES?

*Von den Ursachen der Grösse Roms.*  
Rede gehalten beim Antritt des  
Rectorats an der Universität Leipzig  
am 31 Oktober 1921. Von RICHARD  
HEINZE. Second impression, 1925.  
Pp. 35. Leipzig: Teubner. 1.80 g.m.  
THIS little work is an attempt to  
account for the greatness of ancient

Rome as the natural outcome of Roman character. The Rome contemplated is Rome in healthy and solid growth, before the corruption and decline of inner soundness that may be said to begin after the overthrow of Carthage; that is, down to about 200 B.C. Such a psychological study from a distinguished

German scholar cannot but be interesting. In an address composed for delivery within a limited time it was inevitable that the force of the argument should suffer from its compression, and the reader may fairly wish that some of the opinions were more fully supported by relevant detail.

The main thesis is that what really made Rome expand and rule was the steady Will ever present in the people, both individually and collectively, operating to that end. From this arose their devotion to *res publica*, overriding even the claims of *res privata*. To make that Will effective, firm and continuous leadership was necessary. From this necessity was developed the ample *imperium* of magistrates chosen by a people that had learnt to obey. Most characteristic of Rome was the fact that politicians were officials, men whose worthiness had been approved by popular choice. Continuity was secured by the Senate, in which ex-magistrates contributed experience. The *auctoritas* of that body was not a statutory governing power, but an irresistible moral force guiding responsible magistrates. Thus Roman character and Roman Will created institutions fitted to express their permanent desire of expansion and control, practically and effectively. And their working of these institutions is the story of the rising greatness of Rome.

In short, Rome became great because the Romans (whoever they were) were Romans. And this is no mere platitude,

but a doctrine carefully expounded with due consideration of such matters as the family-system, the education by apprenticeship, the exclusive nature of the Roman *civitas*, the incorporation and assimilation of aliens (freedmen, etc.), and many more. Where I find the work disappointing is in the absence of consciousness that the later degeneration of Roman life was at least partly due to defects in the Roman character and institutions of earlier times. In other words, why did the 'good old Rome' so quickly go to pieces through contact with the outer world? Was there not something wrong inside? I think there was, and that Roman history cannot be fairly written without serious discussion of these questions.

Dr. Heinze pronounces the Romans to have been *Machtmenschen*. Perhaps so: but I note that he is at the same time eager to assert that this is a title to which Germans do not aspire. Very good, but I cannot resist a suspicion that some of his audience may have smiled. And it would be rash to guess how far his views on Roman psychology may have been unconsciously warped a little by the experiences of the last fifty years. As one who owns a drop or two of German blood I can follow his argument with sympathy rather than full conviction. Vergil's boast of Rome's imperial mission sounds natural enough in its own age. But that *Rom über alles* would have been an adequate version of early Roman sentiment I am not quite ready to admit.

W. E. HEITLAND.

### ST. AUGUSTINE'S CONFESSIONS.

*Saint Augustin : Confessions, Livres I.-XVIII.* Texte établi et traduit par P. de Labriolle. Pp. xxxi+202. Paris: Soc. d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925.

THIS is the first instalment of a translation of the 'Confessions' undertaken for the Association Guillaume Budé by Professor de Labriolle of Poitiers. It may be said at once without hesitation that the work promises well. M. de Labriolle prefixes a short Introduction, of which the most interesting section is a discussion of the

MSS. He breaks a lance with P. Knöll, the editor of the 'Confessions' in the Vienna Corpus, whom he blames for a slavish adherence to Codex Sessorianus (S) as surpassing the rest *et aetate et praestantia*. Readers of the *Classical Review* need hardly be reminded that here is a very dangerous principle. As a matter of fact, S omits words which are necessary to sense or grammar, e.g. 'Perueni (occulte) ad uinculum fruendi' (III. i. 1); 'gaudebat mendicus ille uinulentia, tu (gaudere cupiebas) gloria' (VI. vi. 10); 'si corpus meum in locum



illum trahitis (et ibi constituitis),' etc. (VI. viii. 13); 'aperuit (oculos) et percussus est . . . uulnere,' etc. (*ib.*) The famous 'tolle lege' passage in VIII. xii. 29 is spoilt in S by the reading 'de diuina domo' for 'de uicina domo.' And Knöll accepts this, at least in his *ed. maior*! Finally, the scribe of S had not the wit to see what Knöll's acumen lead him to conjecture, that the vulgarism noted by Augustine in I. xviii. 29 is not 'inter hominibus' but 'inter omnes.' It was time that S should be dethroned from its pride of place and the Benedictines restored to credit. There is no question that they reflect the mind and expression of Augustine more faithfully than some modern editors who have a more scientific equipment and method.

M. de Labriolle as a translator is conscientious and clear, shirking no difficulties. That he succeeds in recovering the fire and glitter of the original can hardly be said. It would need a Pascal or a Victor Hugo to do that, and everyday French must seem to the English reader somewhat lacking in dignity beside Augustine's Latin.

What can be done with an idiom that renders 'etiam sic, Domine, etiam sic' by 'C'est cela, Seigneur, c'est bien cela,' and 'oro te, deus meus, by 'permettez-moi de le dire, ô mon Dieu'? At the same time French sometimes lends itself to a happy play upon words, e.g. 'disert' and 'désert,' and the Latin order can be retained with considerable closeness.

An instance of M. de Labriolle at his best is the following (II. ii. 2): 'Votre colère s'était appesantie sur moi, et je l'ignorais. Au fracas des chaînes de ma mortalité, j'étais devenu sourd; j'expiais ainsi la superbe de mon âme. Et je m'éloignais toujours plus loin de vous, et vous me laissiez faire. Ballotté au gré de mes fornications, j'y répandais, j'y gaspillais ma force effervescente; et vous vous taisiez.'

The foot of the Latin page has a critical apparatus, and the French has short notes. These are generally informative, though the one on *Sacramentum* on p. 125 is both faulty and misleading. I have noted slight misprints on pp. 53 and 178.

H. F. STEWART.

### THE LETTERS OF ERASMUS.

*Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterdami.* Denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. ALLEN, M.A., et H. M. ALLEN. Tom. V., 1522-1524. Pp. xxiii + 631; with 4 plates. Oxonii: In Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1924. 28s. net.

THE great edition of Erasmus' correspondence with friends, patrons, potentates, and enemies is carried an important step forward by a volume which covers three very busy and very anxious years of Erasmus' life. It contains 283 letters, 180 by and 103 to Erasmus. The vast majority deal almost entirely with Erasmus' attitude to the religious controversies now become acute and threatening a great schism in the Church.

During these three years Erasmus, in spite of the voluminous correspondence he was obliged to keep up, by unflagging industry finished his Paraphrases on the New Testament, a work

far more important than religious polemics would have been. It is highly to his credit that he constantly used what influence he possessed in favour of mild measures and against persecution. It was only in the Netherlands that persecution went to great lengths in these years, and he invokes Ferdinand's intervention with Margaret the Regent to silence his enemy the Carmelite Egmondanus (1515), to whom this was largely due. He was constantly being pressed to go to France, and the non-payment of his pension as counsellor to Charles V. was an argument in favour of accepting the liberal offers of Francis I. enforced in an autograph letter, of which we have a facsimile (1375). But while there was war between Francis and his Imperial master he could not induce himself to take the step, in spite of the pressure of Budé, sometimes (1446) couched in Plutarchian Greek.

Relations with England seem not to have been so intimate as in previous years. He writes to Henry VIII., Warham, Wolsey, Tunstall, Abbot Bere, and others, particularly when sending them the *De Libero Arbitrio*; but there is an absence of letters to him from England. It is interesting to find him writing in intimate fashion to Polydore Vergil (1494); and his letters to Bishop Fisher (1489) about the unhealthiness of his palace (surely at Rochester), and to Dr. Francis on the causes of the sweating-sickness (1532), are well known. Vives, who was in Oxford most of the time, kept him in touch with events in England, and *e.g.* reported Linacre's death. There is no letter from or to More, only the dedication to young John More of the *Nux Elegia*, and the similar dedication of Prudentius' two hymns to Margaret Roper.

An interesting item is 1460, the preface to a new edition printed by Froben of a Greek-Latin lexicon. He says that he has omitted the Latin-Greek part as useless, partly because it was incomplete, partly because it would

only be useful for Greek prose; but for that you should read authors, and not get your vocabulary from dictionaries. Many scholars say the same to-day, but it puts rather a strain on the human memory. Erasmus did not attempt to rival Budé in writing whole letters in Greek himself, but wishes Budé had turned his attention to Greek lexicography. When a new edition of Graesse's invaluable *Orbis Latinus* was produced, the author omitted the German-Latin index on the ground that the writing of Latin prose had been discontinued in Germany. It is to be hoped that neither Greek nor Latin prose will ever be wholly neglected in this country, and lexicons will always be of some use for this purpose, though no doubt the reading of authors is, as Erasmus says, of the first importance towards writing either language well.

Besides the facsimile of Francis I.'s letter and two woodcuts of Erasmus, the volume is adorned by the two Holbein portraits of Erasmus, now in the Louvre and at Longford Castle, both of which were sent to England, one as a present to Warham.

G. C. RICHARDS.

*De Graecorum fabulis satyricis scripsit Guilelmus Süss.* (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis B V. 4.) Pp. 15. Dorpat, 1924.

THIS is an unambitious but useful dissertation which treats of certain characteristics of the Greek satyric drama, without hazarding any new speculation on the vexed questions of its history and origin. The treatise bisects into two parts. The first points out that the satyr-chorus was often in the forced service of a cruel ogre from which, at the end of the play, it was liberated: such were the *Amycus*, *Cyclops*, *Busiris*, etc. Also, the satyrs were sometimes concerned with a newly-discovered benefit or divine gift, such as fire in the Aeschylean satyr-play *Prometheus*, the lyre in the *Ichneutae*, wine in the *Dionysiscus*. Heracles married Deianira, the daughter of Oeneus, the *ἵππος ἐπώνυμος* of wine: hence, perhaps, the explanation of the fragment in *Ox. Pap.* VIII. 60. The second part enters upon less familiar ground, and shows how the essential elements of the old satyr-plays were newly adapted by the poets known as the Alexandrian Pleias. In particular, attention is given to the plays of Sosithus, especially in relation to the stories of Daphnis and Lityerses. The writer's combinations are generally reasonable, but, if space permitted, it would be necessary to point out that they are not impeccable. A. C. PEARSON.

*Iconographie de l'Iphigénie en Tauride d'Euripide.* By H. PHILIPPART. One Vol. Pp. 33. Eight figures in text. Paris: Société

d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925. Fr. 3.

THE treatment in art of subjects drawn from tragedy has an obvious archaeological and aesthetic interest, and Dr. Philippart lays special stress upon its value as evidence of the interpretation placed upon scenes in tragedy by the ancients themselves. He does little in the present pamphlet to work out this idea, but the materials for such a study are diligently collected. He gives a full catalogue, with a very complete list of references under each item, of the scenes from the *Iphigenia in Tauris* which are to be found on vases, gems, wall-paintings, sarcophagi, and other works of art, with the briefest of descriptions and discussions (except in one or two instances, where the treatment is rather more full). The pamphlet is of value as a sketch for a more detailed work, and as an illustration of the large amount of material available even in the case of a single play. A complete 'artist's companion' to Greek Tragedy would be a fine undertaking, but it would need many hands. A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

*Griechische Inschriften sprachlich erklärt.*

Von IVAR A. HEIKEL. Pp. viii + 117. Helsingfors, 1924. 80.50.

THIS book contains translations into German of sixty-five inscriptions or parts of inscriptions,

starting with Attic and Ionic, and ending with Arcadian and Cyprian. The text is printed—without accents or breathings—of about one-third of the number. For the text of the remainder the reader is referred to Solmsen's *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandam dialectos selectae* (Teubner). Professor Heikel explains the absence of text as due to the high cost of printing. The translations are preceded by references to the literature, which might economically have been omitted, as they are in Solmsen's book, which all users of this book must possess—and in a number of cases by brief notes on the alphabet. They are followed, or rather accompanied, by a commentary chiefly devoted to the explanation in detail of the phonology and morphology of the words occurring in the inscriptions. Professor Heikel says in his preface that the book is meant for beginners (presumably beginners in philology), and declares, 'Das Studium der griechischen Laut- und Formenlehre dürfte am erfolgreichsten mit der Lesung und sprachlichen Interpretation von Inschriften beginnen.' This is an extremely disputable thesis, and it is difficult to believe that the most painstaking beginner in philology will have any clear idea of Greek phonology and morphology after having worked through this book. To students of dialects the less elementary parts of the commentary and the translations, which, so far as I have tested them, are clear and generally correct, will doubtless be of use. Misprints and errors are commendably few. *There is no index.* Perhaps 'Anfänger' don't need one.

S. G. CAMPBELL.

*Πενία ἐν πλοῦτος.* Door JACOB HEMELRIJK. Pp. 152. Amsterdam: druk van Blikman en Sartorius.

A CAREFUL survey of the use in Greek, down to the fourth century, of *πένης*, *πλούσιος*, the cognate nouns, and other words for degrees of poverty or wealth; and a sensible study of Greek opinions on the pros and cons of these estates.

In so full a book one misses the passage of Aristophanes which might well serve as motto for a history of Athenian sea-power (*Eccl.* 197 f.):

ναῦς δὲ καθέλκειν τῷ πένητι μὲν δοκεῖ,  
τοῖς πλουσίοις δὲ καὶ γεωργοῖς οὐ δοκεῖ.

For the sake of those who know not Dutch ten pages of summary in German are appended. The book is well got up.

E. HARRISON.

*Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae Epistulae XXXII. cum Epimerismis Lacapeni.* Accedunt duae epistulae Michaëlis Gabrae ad Lacapenum. Edidit SIGFRID LINDSTAM. Pp. xvi+246. Gotoborgi: Eranos' Förlag, 1924.

GEORGIUS LACAPENUS, who was contemporary with Thomas Magister (early fourteenth century), was, like him, interested in recovering and cultivating the purest Attic style. His letters are an elaborate *tour de force* in this kind of composition, and are accompanied by his own

notes on the vocabulary and syntax. His manner of commenting is very similar to that of Thomas. The *editio princeps* (1779) gave only excerpts, taken from an inferior MS. The present editor has already given an edition (1910) of the first ten letters, and in this new volume he presents us with the first complete text, basing it on numerous MSS. collated by himself in whole or in part. Lacapenus quotes classical writers freely, and the volume is provided with good indices of the passages cited and of the words discussed by Lacapenus. The edition makes a good impression.

R. MCKENZIE.

*The Introduction of Characters by Name in Greek and Roman Comedy.* By DAVID MARTIN KEY. Pp. 98. University of Chicago, 1923.

IF anyone desires to know how many characters in Greek and Roman Comedy are announced or mentioned by name by themselves or by others immediately after or before, or considerably after or before, but not at their first appearance, or are not named at all, or only long after their first appearance, he will find the answers to his questions diligently set forth in this Dissertation. He will also find answers to most of the possible variations of these questions, and estimates of the degree of naturalness or artificiality of each type of naming or omission to name. He will not find much to disagree with, though he may be surprised to find the uses of *ecce*, *hic*, *ille*, *is*, *incedit*, *venit*, *ὅπως*, *ἐρχεται*, *καὶ μὴν*, etc., labelled as mechanical conventions (p. 54), and may be inclined to ask what simpler or more natural expressions could be used, and to find in their naturalness a sufficient explanation of their frequency. (In fact, the writer's postulation of a conventional technique seems to be considerably overdone.) But if he asks whether classical scholarship is really reduced to this kind of investigation, and whether the undoubted industry of such scholars as the author might not be better applied, it may not be easy to give him a satisfactory answer. So long, however, as Universities in the United States and in Germany reward such work with a Doctorate, so long it will doubtless continue to be produced.

A. W. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE.

*The Writers of Greece.* By GILBERT NORWOOD. Pp. 142. Clarendon Press: The World's Manuals. 2s. 6d. net.

THIS is a good short history of Greek literature. The plan of the book is excellent. First we have an Introductory Outline in which the development of the various literary forms is sketched. This, though it includes (in sixteen pages) all the important writers from Homer to Procopius, is full of interest. Professor Norwood then treats at comfortable length the fourteen most famous authors; thus he is able to give eight pages to Thucydides, sixteen to Plato. He shows throughout knowledge, judgment, taste, and he writes with a certain infectious enthusiasm. Some notion of the quality of each of the greater writers is given by short

pieces of translation, and well chosen pictures add to the value of the book.

This book may be obtained, bound up with Professor Wight Duff's *Writers of Rome*, for 4s. 6d., or printed on a larger page and very attractively bound in blue cloth for 7s. 6d.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

*A Book of Latin Poetry from Ennius to Hadrian.* Chosen and annotated by E. V. RIEU. Methuen. 2s. or 3s. 6d.

THIS is a good pocket anthology; it contains seventy-six pages of pieces which one is glad to recall. The notes, too, are interesting and helpful. Mr. Rieu has a gift for hitting off the characteristics of a poet in a few lines.

W. E. P. PANTIN.

*Life Symbols as related to Sex Symbolism.* By ELIZABETH E. GOLDSMITH, author of *Sacred Symbols in Art, and Toby: The Story of a Dog*. One vol. Pp. xviii+455; 46 plates, 108 figures in text. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924.

SYMBOLISM is recommended on the author's experience as a tonic for 'depression over world conditions.' Those whose constitutions such medicine may suit will here find the authentic 'mixture as before' with all the usual ingredients—ankhs, taus, swastikas, obelisks, trees of life, etc., with quotations from Bergson, Chesterton, Voltaire, Gilbert Murray, Ruskin, and others. The passage which gave me most pleasure is an engaging discussion of the donkey on p. 212: 'I have an inner conviction, truth to tell, that in an earlier civilisation he may have been my symbolic animal—or I the donkey.' It would be cantankerous to protest.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

*Male Infibulation.* By ERIC JOHN DINGWALL. One vol. Pp. vii+145, frontispiece, and seven figures in text. London: John Bale, Sons and Danielsson, Ltd., 1925. 10s. 6d.

THIS, the first volume in a projected series of *Studies in the Sexual Life of Ancient and Mediaeval Peoples*, is a serious study of an obscure and painful practice to which Martial more than once alludes. Its object in Roman times was to improve the morality of adolescents, the singing voice of actors, or the physical strength of athletes. For the earlier Greeks there is no literary evidence, but upon Etruscan mirrors and Attic vases athletes are sometimes represented with *ligatura praeputii*. This, Mr. Dingwall insists, differs both in method and purpose from Roman infibulation with a metal ring. Method we must concede, but as to purpose I am less clear. I am inclined to think that the origin of both methods as applied to athletes may lie in the supposed magical efficacy of continence, of which chastity taboos in ritual are a different expression. The author has also collected a good deal of anthropological material, but it is not marshalled very clearly, nor are the conclusions to be drawn from it very plain. He has been very unsuccessful in dealing with the printer's vagaries where he has quoted Greek, nor is the use of 'Attics' in the

sense of 'inhabitants of Attica' to be commended. But in the main his work is industrious and thorough; the examination of the literary allusions to this strange matter by classical writers and their earlier editors is, I should imagine, exhaustive.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

*Où était Carthage?* By E. C. HOWARD. Pp. 36; one large-scale map at end. Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1925.

THIS book is not an exhaustive study of the problem enunciated. 'L'hypothèse,' the author says, 'exposée dans cette étude n'est rien, naturellement, qu'une simple suggestion pour aider les recherches.' Two main propositions are put forward: (1) that the traditional view about the location of the Punic ports and Byrsa is untenable; (2) that the ports were at La Goulette, and that the city occupied the whole of the Goulette peninsula.

Mr. Howard's topographical indications are of the vaguest, and it is impossible to discover either from his map or from the letterpress the exact location he would ascribe to the two ports. His whole theory is based on two statements of Appian: that there was an entry to the ports *ἐς द्वὴν ἀπορῶντα*, and that there was a *ravia* turned towards the west between the sea and the lake. As to the first, an unbiassed observer would say that the entry marked on the map is turned towards the east, while what Mr. Howard takes to be the *ravia*, though lying between the sea and the lake, yet *points N.E. and not W.*

The author gives no description of the lie of the ports; he does not seem to have studied in detail the topography of the Goulette peninsula—if he has, he certainly does not pass on his conclusions; the Byrsa he puts on the low slobland at the N.E. corner of the Lake of Tunis, in spite of the testimony of Strabo and others that it was an eminence;<sup>1</sup> and he makes light of the very real difficulty that no Punic remains have been found near Goulette.

After such a superficial exposition, Mr. Howard can hardly expect rival archaeologists to treat his theory seriously. Let him work out a full and detailed account of the possible emplacement of Carthage at Goulette, let him weigh carefully all available evidence from ancient sources, and let him embody his results in a much more exhaustive article. When he has done that, he may then have produced something worthy of the attention of all scholars interested in Punic archaeology.

The book is further marred by numerous errors and misprints. On p. 27 the island of Syracuse is actually called Ogygia, while misprints in the French text and in the Latin and Greek quotations abound on every page.

D. B. HARDEN.

<sup>1</sup> This difficulty he answers (p. 32) by suggesting that it was on an artificial mound, afterwards 'complètement rasée par l'armée romaine'!

*Hippo Regius from the Earliest Times to the Arab Conquest.* By H. VAN M. DENNIS. Pp. 74. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1924.

No attempt has here been made to fit together a connected and comprehensive account of the history of Hippo Regius. Certain important topics (e.g. the archaeology and topography of the site) are entirely ignored, and others are treated in the most sketchy and superficial manner, while, on the contrary, much irrelevant and superfluous matter is introduced. There are, for instance, ten pages on the ethnology and languages of North Africa, a knowledge of which on the part of the reader might surely be assumed.

Quite half the book is taken up with an account of the Diocese of Hippo and its history in Christian times, and yet, strangely enough, the author deems fit to say very little about St. Augustine, the one really eminent man connected with Hippo in antiquity. The book is dully written, and the translations from the Latin (they fill nearly a quarter of the book) are distinctly schoolboyish in style. Still, these last two faults might be excused were the book in other respects interesting and original. But it is not; and the author does well in his preface to mention his 'particular indebtedness' to M. Gsell's various works.

There is a needlessly full bibliography at the end of the volume, which, nevertheless, has some notable omissions, e.g. Diehl's *L'Afrique Byzantine*, and Fischer's *Mittelmeerbilder*.

D. B. HARDEN.

*A Literary History of Rome from the Origins to the Close of the Golden Age.* By J. WIGHT DUFF. Pp. xvi+695. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1925. Cloth, 21s. net.

THE second edition of this work followed hard upon the first, which was very well received both by other journals and by this (XXIV., 1910, 65). No change appears to have been made in it since 1910; but its value is attested by the need of new impressions, the present being the sixth.

E. HARRISON.

*Titi Livi ab urbe condita libri.* Erklärt von W. WEISSENBORN und H. J. MÜLLER. Dritter Band, erstes Heft. Buch VI.-VIII., neubearbeitet von OTTO ROSSBACH. Sechste Auflage. Pp. 328. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1924. M. 5.40.

THIS is a new edition of the well-known annotated text of Livy by Weissenborn and Müller. As the fifth edition of these books appeared as far back as 1886, there was every reason for revising it and bringing it up to date. This has been done judiciously by Otto Rossbach. As the edition is primarily intended for school use, the references in the notes are mainly to standard works of a general character rather than to articles in special journals, though these are not always excluded. Thus Italian topography is elucidated by references to Nissen's *Italische Landeskunde*, Roman topography by Richter's *Topographie Roms*, and antiquities by

Pauly-Wissowa, Blümner, Mau, Baumeister, Müller-Wieseler, etc. One is glad to note that considerable stress is laid upon elucidating and illustrating the subject-matter, as well as upon the explanation of the text. The editor notes that he has been unable to make use of Ed. Meyer's study of the Roman manipular army which appeared in 1923, and is important for the well-known passage about the arrangement of the army in Book VIII.

An appendix gives critical notes in cases where the reading of the MSS. has been departed from, and the principal conjectures adopted by Madvig and C. Flamstead Walters in their editions of the text are noted. It is worth remarking that Rossbach calls Walters's edition 'diese jetzt massgebende Ausgabe.'

F. H. MARSHALL.

*Poetae Latini Minores: post Aemilium Baehrens iterum recensuit* FRIDERICUS VOLLMER. Vol. II., fasc. 2, *Ovidi Nux, Consolatio ad Livium, Priapea*. Pp. 80. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubneri, 1923. 1 Mk. 60 Pf.

BAEHRENS' useful collection of the lesser Latin poets began to appear in 1879. He was a diligent and successful searcher for MSS., but had an excessive penchant for emendation. The time for a new edition had certainly arrived, and Vollmer was among the best qualified Germans to undertake it. This is the last part we shall receive from his hands, as he was taken away when his task was more than half completed. It will be generally admitted that the work shows a real advance on its predecessor, and the apparatus differs even more seriously than the text. Vollmer has wisely got rid of Baehrens' excessive punctuation; in orthography Baehrens is sometimes better than Vollmer, especially where our MSS. are late. On p. 7, l. 23, for 'nunx' read 'nunc,' and on p. 17, for 'C. Clark' read 'A. C. Clark.'

A. SOUTER.

*Der Satirendichter Horaz: die Weiterbildung einer römischen Literaturgattung.* Von KURT WITTE. Erlangen, 1923, printed by the author. Pp. 39.

*Die Geschichte der römischen Elegie, Erster Band. Tibull.* Von KURT WITTE. Erlangen, 1924. Pp. iv+122.

THE aim of the first of these works is to show that Horace in the composition of the *Satires* was indebted to Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, not only in the matter of technique, but also occasionally in phraseology. Martin Hertz long ago observed a relationship between the first satire of the first book and the *Georgics*; Dr. Witte carries this further. The work will repay study, as it is based on a minute analysis of the construction of the *Satires*.

The second work is a part of an ambitious programme, nothing less in fact than a history of Roman poetry in the Augustan Age. The projected work is to be in five parts, thus: First part, Virgil (in four volumes, dealing respectively with the *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, *Aeneid*, and *Pseudo-Vergiliana*); second part, Horace (in two volumes, one on the *Satires* and *Epistles*,

the other on the *Odes* and *Epodes*); third part, History of Roman Elegy (first volume, *Tibullus*, the one before us; second volume, *Propertius*; third volume, *Ovid*); fourth part, *Ovid's Metamorphoses*; fifth part, the *Art of the Roman-Hellenistic Poetry*. Some of the ground is meantime in part covered by works like that on Horace just described.

The *Tibullus* volume is analytical, minutely so. The author argues that Tibullus practised framing (*Umräumung*) and the working into one another of unities (*ineinandergearbeitete Einheiten*) in the construction of his poems, and provides tables to show their literary construction. He also illustrates the literary relationship between Tibullus on the one hand, and Virgil and Horace respectively on the other. An index of passages discussed enables the reader to test the author's theories.

A. SOUTER.

*Calpurnii et Nemesiani Bucolica iteratis curis edidit Einsiedlensia quae dicuntur carmina adiecit CAESAR GIARRATANO*. Pp. xxxiii + 94. Ex officina regia I. B. Paravia et Soc. Augustae Taur. Preface dated February, 1924.

It is a boon to get the *Einsiedeln* fragments in this handy form along with the other *Bucolica*; and this is a useful, convenient, and in every way meritorious book, well printed on good enough paper, and well edited. Giarratano gives a full account of the MS. evidence, a short apparatus criticus of variants, and an index nominum. His text is reasonable: only once does he offer the reader an incredible Latinity, at the vexat passage in *Calp. Buc. I. 54-57*, where it may be suggested that we should restore

Candida Pax aderit, nec solum candida vultu  
qualis saepe fuit quae libera marte professo  
et domito procul hoste, tamen grassantibus  
armis

*lubrica dissedit tacito Discordia ferro.*

*Codd. quae* in 56 and *publica diffudit* in 57. Anyway, *Pax* requires a capital, being personified, and *marte* does not.

In the same poem, v. 29, *resultant* should be read, according to this poet's usage in IV. 5.

Spellings like *cometem* (II. 78) and *Lycidam* (VII. 81) will alarm those who are delicate about these points. At III. 10 *Sic tua Phyllis?* is surely interrogative like *sic meos amores?* in Catullus. There are a few other errors: at V. 141 *Palatia*, not *palatia*; from VI. 47 *sine* is missing; in Nem. III. 28 *ulnis*, not *ulmis*.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

*Juvenal's Tenth Satire and Johnson's The Vanity of Human Wishes*. With Introduction and Notes. By E. H. BLAKENEY, M.A. Pp. 78. London: Blackie and Son, 1925. 3s. 6d. net.

IT was a happy thought to include Juvenal's satire and Johnson's imitation of it in one cover. Mr. Blakeney has added to each an introductory note and a brief commentary. The two poems are of equal length, but the Latin gets,

as it should for English readers, twice as much explanation. Yet Johnson is sometimes obscure enough: when he wrote (l. 50)

See motley life in modern trappings dress'd,  
And feed with varied fools th' eternal jest,

surely 'feed' is an imperative addressed to Democritus, and not a participle, as the editor seems to understand it: in fact it = *pasce*, not *mercede conductam*. In l. 328 the sense is hidden by the misprint of 'latent fashion' for 'latest fashion.' But these are details; and the book is good in execution as well as in conception. Any student who has mastered throughout the meaning of these two famous poems has received a real piece of education.

J. D. DUFF.

*De particulis copulativis apud Scriptores Historiae Augustae quaestiones selectae*. Scriptis ERIK TIDNER (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1922; Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper 3). Pp. xii + 148. Uppsala: A.-B. Akademiska Bokhandeln. 7 kr. 50.

THIS monograph is one more of those careful investigations of the usage of later Latin writers which Uppsala has given to us. It is not a calculation of the number of instances of *et* in the *Historia Augusta*, but a carefully classified collection of the ways in which words and thoughts are joined. Such a conspectus is of value for the establishment of the text, and Dr. Tidner has not failed to consider problems which arise therein. Those specially interested in his subject should read a careful review by W. Baehrens, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1923, 362 ff.

A. D. NOCK.

*Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme auf römischen Kaiserminzen* (von Caesar bis Severus). Von Dr. OTTO TH. SCHULZ. Pp. x + 124. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1925. Marks 6.

DR. SCHULZ has chosen a promising subject, for which his past experience of Roman constitutional history well fits him—the use of the imperial coinage to state claims and announce policies. The work is well planned, skilfully arranged, and equipped with at least one useful index. It will undoubtedly be of great assistance to the historian in search of numismatic evidence. To a sound grasp of the main principles of the Roman constitution the author adds a good general knowledge of the coinage, and he combines the two with sense and judgment. So long as we are concerned with general principles rather than with details we shall not often find him misleading us.

More closely examined, the book has its blemishes. Far too much space is devoted to the demolition of Kenner's theory that the offering of an oak-wreath by the Senate to the Emperor as 'Saviour of his Country' was a regular symbol of the accession. But the element of truth underlying Kenner's theory is not fully appreciated. Schulz convinces himself far too readily that laurel-wreath and oak-wreath were confused, and does not fairly state

the other side of the case. He is too careless of detail—of questions of date, of mintage, of exact reference of type. A few examples must suffice. On p. 25 a wrong date is suggested for the 'autonomous' coins of Vitellius. On p. 23 stress is laid on the S.C. on a 'Hispania' reverse of a denarius of Galba; but no mention is made of what is probably the real point—that it was struck in the great senatorial province of Africa. On p. 28 nothing is said of the Spanish origin of the As of Vitellius with reverse *CONSENSVS HISPANIARVM S.C.*—again a vital point. Remarks on the kindred types of 'Providentia' and 'Spes' on pp. 36, 42, 48, 70, might have been made more precise. On p. 53 the meaning of the words 'populi iussu' on the reverse of a denarius of Octavian is forced; they apply directly to the reverse type, an equestrian statue. On p. 89 Schulz writes as if he did not know that patera and sceptre are rather commonly attributes of gods. On pp. 91 ff. Schulz's view of the candidature of Clodius Macer is only reasonable if Macer's coins were mainly struck before the death of Nero; the evidence is in favour of a later date. It is only fair to add that the book contains much wise and enlightening comment. Mistakes of the kind we have noted are inevitable in a work on this scale. But, unless Dr. Schulz will take the detail of coins a little more seriously, he will make more than he need.

H. MATTINGLY.

*Saint Cyprien: Correspondance.* Tome I. Texte établi et traduit par le CHANOINE BAYARD. Pp. lx + 200. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1923. Fr. 12

THIS is a very welcome volume. Its editor is well known as an authority on Cyprian, on whose Latinity he gave us a scholarly thesis in 1902. He has taken full advantage of the work done by Mercati, von Soden, and Miodonski since the appearance of the Vienna edition in 1868, and his text is an undoubted improvement upon Hartel's. The translation has been carefully done, and is both accurate and lucid. There is an excellent introduction, in which students will be grateful for the succinct summary of the information supplied by the correspondence on the condition and constitution of the African Church in the third century. The editor has done his work well, and when completed it will take its place among the most independent and valuable of this *Belles Lettres* series.

J. H. BAXTER.

*A Study of the Vocabulary and Rhetoric of the Letters of St. Augustine.* By W. PARSONS. Pp. vii + 281. 1923.

*St. Augustine the Orator.* By M. I. BARRY. Pp. xi + 263. 1924.

*The Clausulae in the De Civitate Dei of St. Augustine.* By G. REYNOLDS. Pp. ix + 67. 1924.

(The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vols. III., VI., VIII. Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America. Paper.)

EACH of these three theses for the Ph.D. degree is concerned with the Latinity of St. Augustine.

Sister Wilfrid Parsons devotes the five chapters of Part I. to the vocabulary, and the three of Part II. to the style of the *Letters*, reserving the syntax for separate treatment. The best chapter in Part I. is that on semantics, with copious illustrations. In Part II. all the tropes and figures occurring in the *Letters* are carefully tabulated. The work is well done, and was worth doing.

Sister M. Inviolata Barry appraises the rhetoric of the *Sermons*. This also is a useful piece of work, and perhaps of more general interest, for what is true of Augustine the preacher is also true of Augustine the dogmatic theologian.

Both these theses have select bibliographies (Sister W. Parsons prints Rogers for Roger), but neither quotes Dr. Watson's monograph on *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian* (Oxford, 1896). Mr. Graham Reynolds has the advantage of them and refers to Dr. Watson (though with misplaced initials) in the bibliography to his essay on *The Clausulae in the De Civ. Dei*. This is a much shorter affair, but it is, as far as I can judge, of considerable importance in the history of Latin prose. Mr. Reynolds applies to St. Augustine (with modifications) the method of Zielinski, whose great work, *Das Clauselgesetz in Cicero's Reden*—or, at least, Professor A. C. Clark's article thereupon in this *Review* (Vol. XIX., pp. 164-172)—is indispensable to the comprehension of the thesis, either as prelude or accompaniment. It is stiff reading, and Mr. Reynolds's English is slightly American; but he is a writer who is sure to appear again, and whom we shall be glad to meet. He tells us in Chap. I. what were Augustine's own views and practice in regard to the *clausula*; Chap. II. contains an analysis into seven groups of 4,274 *clausulae* of the *D.C.D.* This leaves 60,000 or 70,000 to be accounted for; but the distribution of the passages examined renders it probable that they are representative. Chap. III. deals with individual *clausulae*, and Chap. IV. consists of miscellaneous remarks on prosody and accent.

It may safely be affirmed that the three dissertations between them form a distinct contribution to knowledge.

H. F. STEWART.

*A Comparison of the Styles of Gaudentius of Brescia (21 Tractates or Sermons); the De Sacramentis (ascribed to St. Ambrose); and the Didascalia Apostolorum, or Fragmenta Veronensia (E. Hauler).* By AUSTIN HEDLEY BIRCH. Pp. 180. Yendall and Co., Ltd., Printers, Risca, Mon., 1924. 10s.

THE subject of this tractate was suggested to the author by Professor Vernon Bartlet, of Mansfield College, Oxford. The reason for grouping these three works is to be found in the fact that they all belong to North Italy. This region was for about half a century (from 375 to 425) one of great importance in Latin Christianity, and a very considerable body of Christian literature was produced there. This is Dr. Birch's first venture in authorship, and shows some signs of inexperience as well as want of access to a large library. The book also is printed at a somewhat obscure provincial press, little used to the production of learned



works, and in consequence there is a fair crop of misprints. Nevertheless, the work is a real contribution to learning, and will prove of value to all investigators of the later Latin. The copious data furnished have made it quite clear that neither the *De Sacramentis* nor the *Didascalia* is the work of Gaudentius, and that in fact all three works come from different authors. The fact that Hauler's edition of the *Didascalia*,

important as it is for the student of palaeography and orthography, is now out of print, adds considerably to the value of Dr. Birch's work. The author includes a very considerable selection of the scriptural quotations made in these three writings, and here again has done good service to the student of the Latin Bible. May other busy schoolmasters be encouraged to follow his example! A. SOUTER.

## OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers were read :

October 23, 'Notes on the Turning March of the Persians at Thermopylae,' by Professor J. A. Smith.

November 6, 'The Younger Pliny,' by Dr. J. A. Nairn.

November 20, 'The Date and Occasion of the 2nd Pythian, with a note on Ol. VI. 82 (140) ff.,' by Mr. D. S. Robertson.

November 27, 'The New Excavations at Ostia and Pompeii,' by Dr. E. N. Gardiner.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1925.)

ARCHAEOLOGY.—October 12. A. W. Barker, *A Classification of the Chitons worn by Greek Women as shown in Works of Art* [University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, 1923] (Lillian M. Wilson). Unfavourable. Shows errors due to the study of mere photographic reproductions, with no practical knowledge of the way the sculptor and painter worked.

GRAMMAR.—November 9. R. J. Cunliffe, *Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* [London: Blackie, 1924] (S. E. Bassett). Rather faintly praised.

HISTORY.—October 19. T. S. Jerome, *Aspects of the Study of Roman History* [New York: Putnam, 1923] (W. D. Gray). Studies by a late consular agent who was not a professional scholar. Sympathetic review, which stresses J.'s use of modern psychology.—October 26. L. Homo, *L'Italie Primitive et les Débuts de l'Impérialisme Romain* [Paris, 1925] (H. Wing). 'A summing up of the chief lines of development conceived in political and geographical terms,' but neglecting economic and social influences.—November 9. H. Dessau, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit. I. Band: Bis zum Ersten Thronwechsel* [Berlin: Weidmann, 1924] (F. B. Marsh). Highly praised; but M. criticises D. for ignoring the dyarchy established by Augustus, and for refusing to see any development in his policy.

LITERATURE.—November 16. D. M. Robinson, *Sappho and her Influence* [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1924: in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*] (F. G. Allinson). Long review, mainly favourable.—December 7. Mary A. Grant, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of the Laughable: The Greek Rhetoricians and Cicero* [University of Wisconsin Dissertation, 1924] (L. Van Hook). Praised, though reviewer

notes errors (one very bad one) and omissions.—W. Nestle, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 2 vols., 1923, 1924] (J. Hammer). Praised; but the work, which only runs to 281 pages, is uneven, lyrists, orators, and new-comedians receiving less than their due.—December 14. A. Y. Campbell, *Horace: A New Appreciation* [London: Methuen, 1924] (J. W. Duff). An instructive and provocative book, which lays due stress on the religious, moral, and social value of Horace.

RELIGION.—October 26. A. Le Marchant, *Greek Religion in the Time of Hesiod* [Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1923] (W. S. Fox). Favourable. 'Written in a style of unusual freshness.'

[The issues of October 12, November 9 and 30, and December 7, contain lists of articles on classical subjects in non-classical periodicals.]

### MUSÉE BELGE, XXIX., No. 4. (OCTOBER, 1925.)

J. P. Waltzing, *Le Crime rituel reproché aux Chrétiens du II<sup>e</sup> Siècle*. Follows phases of the pagan charges of *flagitia* down to the more precise versions in Minucius and Tertullian: these last differ notably, M. being the earlier.—Cam. Bottin, *Les Tribus et les Dynasties de l'Épire avant l'Influence macédonienne, IV. Molossian kings of 418-352 B.C. and their relations with Athens, Dionysius, etc.* Concludes account of this *peuple fruste*, backward but proud. 'Very plausible' that Eur. *Andromache* was played at court of Tharyps.—N. Hohlwein, *Le Stratège du Nome VI.* (conclusion). His powers regarding liturgies: changes in 3rd A.D. with *βουλαι* of *metropolis*. Agrees with Oertel that under Ptolemies there were *corvée* and forced labour, but the *fonctionnarisme forcé* of Roman period was very exceptional.

**MUSÉE BELGE: BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE,**  
XXX., Nos. 1-3. (JANUARY, 1926.)

J. Mansion, *Le Problème saxon*. Discusses recent theories of point of departure of Saxons for England and of connotation of *litus Saxonicum*.

GREEK.—*Demosthenes*: E. Drerup, *Dem. im Urteile des Altertums*, 1923. A bad quarter of an hour for Dem. and lawyer-politicians, but of real value (J. Meunier). *Plato*: A. Willem, *Apologie* (ed. classique), Liège, Des-sain. Favourable (R. Scalais).

LATIN.—J. G. P. Borleffs, *De Tertulliano et Minucio Felice*. Groningen, Wolters, 1925. Successful case for priority of M. (G. Hinnis-daels).

GENERAL.—A. Carnoy, *Gramm. élém. de la Langue sanscrite comparée avec celles des Langues indo-eur.* Paris, Geuthner, 1925. Subject too vast and complex for an elementary manual (J. Mansion).—A. Meillet, *Les Origines indo-eur. des Mètres grecs*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1923. Favourable (R. Fohalle).—C. Autran, *Introd. à l'Étude critique du Nom propre grec. Fasc. I.-III.* Geuthner, 1925, 20 fr. each. Has shown better than anyone difficulty of the problem (R. Fohalle).—*Catalogue des MSS. alchimiques grecs. I. Les Parisini, and III. Les MSS. des Iles Britanniques*. Brussels, Lamertin, 1924. Favourable (M. Delcourt).—F. Hartmann, *L'Agriculture dans l'ancienne Égypte*. Paris, 1923. Learned (R. Scalais).—C. Huart, *La Perse antique et la Civilisation iranienne* (Évol. de l'Humanité). Indispensable (Anon.).—A. Grenier, *Le Génie romain dans la Religion, la Pensée et l'Art* (same series). Favourable (Anon.).

**PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.**  
(JULY-OCTOBER, 1925.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—W. Aly, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* [Bielefeld and Leipzig, 1925, Velhagen u. Klasing. Pp. xvii+418] (Kunst). Undertakes, with great success, a systematic history not of Greek writers, but of Greek writings; brings out very clearly the real driving forces in Greek literature, and concentrates more than is usually done on literary form. Reviewer praises very emphatically.

LATIN LITERATURE.—W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* [Stuttgart, 1924, Metzler. Pp. 390] (Helm). K.'s book entirely justifies the claim of its title to 'promote the understanding of Latin literature'; contains a wealth and variety of important matter which reviewer summarises in considerable detail.—*Seneca: Phaedra*. Herausg. u. erläutert. von K. Kunst [Wien, 1924. Pp. 66 and 87] (Klotz). Primarily a school edition, but stimulating and useful also to experts. Vol. I. contains a good introduction, followed by text, critical appendix, and historical review of Phaedra in dramatic art to the present day; in Vol. II. K. gives a

running commentary which hardly once leaves us in the lurch.

HISTORY.—*Rom, Geschichte des römischen Volkes und seiner Kultur, von W. Wagner*. Neu bearbeitet von O. E. Schmidt; 10. Aufl. [Berlin, n.d., Neufeld u. Henius. Pp. xvi+706; 293 illustrations] (Poland). This new edition shows material changes, which bring it level with modern research; warmly recommended both for its reliability and for its lively and fascinating exposition. Reviewer finds treatment of Roman religion less satisfactory than the rest.

PHILOSOPHY.—*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta coll. I. ab Arnim. Vol. IV. quo Indices continentur*. Conscripsit M. Adler [Leipzig, 1924, Teubner. Pp. viii+221] (Pohlenz). This very serviceable index-volume has long been needed. Reviewer welcomes its appearance with gratitude.—E. von Aster, *Platon* [Stuttgart, 1925, Strecker u. Schröder. Pp. xii+167] (Nestle). Sane and clear. Recommended as an introduction, but contains little new for experts, except in concluding section, which sketches the influence of Platonic philosophy from Aristotle to the present day.—E. Hoffmann, *Die Sprache und die archaische Logik* [Tübingen, 1925, Mohr. Pp. viii+79] (Nestle). H. advances research in every branch of the subject he handles; might almost be called a Genealogy of Greek Logic.—O. Dittrich, *Die Systeme der Moral. Geschichte der Ethik vom Altertum bis zur Gegenwart. Bd. I.: Altertum bis zum Hellenismus. Bd. II.: Vom Hellenismus bis zum Ausgang des Altertums* [Leipzig, 1923, Quelle u. Meyer. Pp. viii+374 and vii+311] (Nestle). Contains considerably more than the title suggests; ethical systems not only described, but their metaphysical foundation considered in detail. Notes, references to sources, bibliography, and very full index are appended. Very interesting and instructive.

LANGUAGE AND METRE.—G. Rohlf's, *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der unteritalienischen Gräzität* [Geneva, 1924, Olschki. Pp. viii+178; 6 illustrations and 1 map] (Hermann). Proves convincingly that certain present-day dialects of S. Italy derive directly from Greek colonisation of classical times; deserves careful notice.—Thea Stifter, *Das Wer-nickesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dikdrese* [*Philologus* LXXIX., pp. 323-354, Leipzig, 1924] (Hommel). Exemplary in method and of greatest importance for Homeric metre. S. has 'overthrown a scientific dogma that had held the field unchallenged for a century,' and shows that the hexameter did not grow out of a dactylic tetrapody + an adonic dipody.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—W. R. Bryan, *Italic Hut Urns and Hut Urn Cemeteries: A Study in the Early Iron Age of Latium and Etruria* [Rome, 1925, American Academy. Pp. xiv+204; 25 illustrations] (Karo). Full description of the cemeteries, followed by a short account of early Iron Age in Latium, list of urns, index, and plates. Reviewer expresses much gratitude, but misses a corresponding chapter on early Iron Age in Etruria.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\*.\* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Abbott (G. F.)** Thucydides. A study in historical reality. Pp. vii + 240. London: Routledge, 1925. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Allen (P. S.)** Erasmus' Services to Learning. Pp. 20. (Annual Lecture on a Master-mind; from the Proceedings of the British Academy.) London: Milford. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Barwick (C.)** Flavi Sospatri Charisii Artis Grammaticae Libri V. Pp. xxvi + 539. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. Paper, G.-M. 12; cloth, 14.
- Birch (A. H.)** A comparison of the styles of Gaudentius of Brescia, the De Sacramentis and the Didascalia Apostolorum. Pp. 180. Risca (Mon.): Yendall, 1924. Paper, 10s.
- Bolling (G. M.)** The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer. Pp. xii + 258. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.** No. 9. Octobre, 1925.
- Classical Philology.** Vol. XX., No. 4. October, 1925.
- Corcoran (T.)** Renovatio Litterarum in scholas saec. a C. XVI. deducta. Pp. xvii + 237. Dublin: The University, 1925. Paper.
- Crexells (J.)** Plato, Diàlegs, II. Càrmides, Lisis, Protàgoras. Text i traducció de J. C. Barcelona: Fundació Bernat Metge, 1925. Stiff paper.
- De Franco (E.)** L' 'Inverno' Esiodeo e le Opere e i Giorni. Pp. 39. Catania: V. Muglia, 1926. Paper, 4 lire.
- Delachaux (A.)** Notes critiques sur Thucydide (Livre I.). Pp. 73. Neuchâtel (Switzerland): Secrétariat de l'Université, 1925. Paper, 5 fr.
- Dennis (C. P. L.)** C. Valeri Catulli Carmen LXIV. A Prothalamion for Peleus and Thetis. Translated by C. P. L. D. Pp. 18. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1925. Stiff paper, 1s. 3d.
- Diehl (E.)** Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres. Vol. II., fasc. 1. Pp. 80. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925. Paper, 3.75 M.
- Drexel (F.)** Achmetis Oneirocriticon. Pp. xvi + 270. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. Paper, 10 G.-M.; cloth, 11.40.
- Buckett (E. S.)** Catullus in English Poetry. Pp. 199. (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 6.) Northampton (Mass.), June, 1925. Paper.
- Engelmann (W.)** New Guide to Pompeii. Pp. 219; frontispiece, 140 figures, and map. Leipzig: Engelmann, 1925. Cloth, 5 G.-M.
- Fraenkel (E.)** Die Stelle des Römertums in der humanistischen Bildung. Pp. 45. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 1.50 M.
- Frödin (O.) and Persson (A. W.)** Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Asiné, 1922-1924. Pp. 23-93; 48 plates. (Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund. Årsberättelse 1924-1925, H. 2.) Lund: Gleerup (London: Milford), 1925. Paper.
- Game (J. B.)** Teaching High-school Latin. A handbook. Revised edition. Pp. xi + 151. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. Cloth.
- Gardiner (E. N.)** Olympia: its History and Remains. Pp. xviii + 316; 129 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Cloth, 50s. net.
- Gerstinger (H.)** Bruchstücke eines antiken Kommentars zur Archäologie des Thukydides im Papyr. gr. Vindob. 29247. Pp. 20. (Akad. der Wiss. in Wien, Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschriften, 67. Band, 2. Abh.) Vienna and Leipzig: Holder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1925. Paper.
- Halliday (W. R.)** The pagan background of early Christianity. Pp. xvi + 334. (The Ancient World.) Liverpool: University Press (London: Hodder and Stoughton), 1925. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Havet (L.) et Frelé (A.)** Pseudo-Plaute, Le Prix des Ânes (Asinaria). Texte établi et traduit. (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres.' Paper, 15 fr.
- Henry (M. Y.)** The relation of dogmatism and scepticism in the philosophical treatises of Cicero. Pp. viii + 117. Geneva (New York): W. F. Humphrey, 1925. Paper.
- Holland (L. A.)** The Faliscans in Pre-historic Times. Pp. xi + 162, 13 plates. (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. V.) Rome: American Academy, 1925. Cloth.
- Hosius (C.)** Die Moselgedichte des Decimus Magnus Ausonius und des Venantius Fortunatus zum dritten Male herausgegeben und erklärt, mit einer Karte und Abbildungen. Pp. 126. Marburg i. H.: N. G. Elwert'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1926. Paper, 3 M.
- Humbert (J.)** Les plaidoyers écrits et les plaidoiries réelles de Cicéron. Pp. 296. Contribution à l'étude des sources d'Asconius dans ses relations des débats judiciaires. Pp. 142. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. Paper.
- Jespersen (O.)** Mankind, nation and individual from a linguistic point of view. Pp. 222. (Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning.) Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. (London: Williams and Norgate), 1925. Paper.
- Kalinka (E.) and Kunst (K.)** Kurzgefasste griechische Sprachlehre mit Übungsstücken. Pp. 152. Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1925. Boards, 4.50 Kronen.
- Kolon (P. B.)** Die Vita S. Hilarii Arelatensis. Eine eidographische Studie. Pp. 124. Rhetorische Studien, 12. Heft.) Paderborn: Schöningh, 1925. Paper, 8 M.
- Krahe (H.)** Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen. Pp. x + 128. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, 3. Abt., 7.) Heidelberg: Winter, 1925. Geheftet, 5 M.
- Lehmann (P.)** Fuldaer Studien. Pp. 53. (Bay. Sitzungsberichte, Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl., Jahrgang 1925, 3. Abh.) Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1925. Paper.

- Llobera** (I. M. et **Estelrich** (I.) M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationes I, Pro P. Quinctio, Pro Sex. Roscio, Pro Q. Roscio Comoedo, Pro Tullio. Recognoverunt I. M. Ll. and I. E. Pp. ix+128. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, S. A., 1923. Paper.
- Lobel** (E.) ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΗ. The fragments of the lyrical poems of Sappho, edited by E. L. Pp. lxxviii+81. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Lodge** (G.) Lexicon Plautinum. Vol. I. Fasc. I. et II., impressio correcta (1925); III.-X. (1904-1924). Pp. xvi+917. Leipzig: Teubner. Paper, each fasc. 7.20 G.-M.
- Lorimer** (W. L.) Some notes on the text of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo.' Pp. xi+148. (St. Andrews University Publications, No. XXI.) London: Milford, 1925. Paper, 5s. net.
- Ludvíkovský** (J.) Řecký Román Dobrodružný, Studie o Jeho Podstatě a Vzniku. Le Roman grec d'Aventures, Étude sur sa Nature et son Origine. Pp. 160. (Facultas Philosophica Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis, XI.) Prague: F. Řivnáč, 1925. Paper, 18 Kč.
- Mackail** (J. W.) Classical Studies. Pp. vii+253. London: Murray, 1925. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Macnaghten** (H.) The poems of Catullus done into English verse. Pp. viii+157. Cambridge: University Press, 1925. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Meillet** (A.) La méthode comparative en linguistique historique. Pp. viii+117. (Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A: Forelesninger, II.) Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co. (London: Williams and Norgate), 1925.
- Menk** (E. A.) The position of the possessive pronoun in Cicero's orations. Pp. 71. Grand Forks, North Dakota: Normanden Pub. Co., 1925. Paper.
- Mountford** (J. F.) Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries. Pp. 132. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXI.) New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925. Boards, \$1.50.
- Murray** (G.) The Eumenides (The Furies) of Aeschylus translated into rhyming verse. Pp. xv+63. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1925. Cloth, 3s.
- Murray** (R. H.) The History of Political Science from Plato to the Present. Pp. vii+435. Cambridge: Heffer, 1926. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Oehler** (R.) Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung. Pp. 126. Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1925. Paper.
- Palaeographia Latina**, Part IV. Edited by W. M. Lindsay. (St. Andrews University Publications, XX.) Pp. 85. London: Milford, 1925. Paper.
- Paton** (W. R.), **Wegehaupt** (I.), **Pohlenz** (M.) Plutarchi Moralia. Vol. I. Pp. xlii+354. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. Paper, 10 G.-M.; cloth, 11.60.
- Phillimore** (J. S.) Pastoral and Allegory. A re-reading of the Bucolics of Virgil. Pp. 32. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Paper, 2s. net.
- Post** (L. A.) Thirteen Epistles of Plato. Introduction, translation and notes by L. A. P. Pp. 167. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Radet** (Georges). Notes critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre. Première Série. Pp. 86. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils, 1925. Paper.
- Riba** (C.) i **Navarro** (A.) D. M. Ausoni Obres, Vol. I. Text i traducció. Barcelona: Editorial Catalana, S.A., 1924. Paper.
- Rivaud** (A.) Platon. Tome X.: Timée, Critias. Texte établi et traduit par A. R. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres', 1925. Paper, 20 fr.
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# The Classical Review

MAY, 1926

## NOTES AND NEWS

READERS will note that, although the first issue of the *Classical Review* in this year was called 'Nos. 1, 2,' the present issue is No. 2. After the first issue went to press, the Classical Journals Board decided to publish six numbers in the current year, and to drop the style of double numeration which has been followed for some years. Under the new arrangement the *Review* will appear in February, May, July, September, November, December, on or about the 15th of those months. The July number will contain a few articles only, including selected papers read to Branches of the Classical Association. The Editors would take this opportunity of reminding members of the Classical Association, and especially the officials of the Branches, that the first two or three pages of each issue have always been open to short paragraphs on matters of general interest to students of the Classics. An exception will be made in future in the case of the July number.

The last few months have brought forth four memoirs of scholars, two from the Oxford and two from the Cambridge Press. Here follow remarks upon them by several hands.

'If Henry Jackson published little, at least in book form, it was not from inability to write. Besides keeping open house every evening in term, he would sit up far into the night writing letters as vivid, emphatic, and precise as his talk. Largely from these, Dr. Parry has made an admirable memoir, in which we have Jackson drawn by his own hand. The fact is, he deliberately spent himself in teaching, like Socrates, about whom (he wrote) "it is a pleasure to me to read or write or teach." Of his methods as student and as lecturer a clear picture emerges;

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though more might be said of his work for Part II. of the *Tripes*—of the small classes where he took his seat on a bench while each pupil in turn read a paper from the desk; and, above all, of his marvellous *μαιευτική* when one went to him alone for an hour after first reading the *Republic* or the *Ethics* from cover to cover. To correspondents seeking advice he was lavish of time and trouble, and his letters contain some valuable *résumés* of his own views on Aristotle and Plato. A few *obiter scripta* may be selected. "Aeschylus would be surprised to hear that we get grammar and sense out of his choruses," being libretti to be sung. The Aristophanic scholia: "About real difficulties they know no more than we do." The *Ethics*: "An *aperient* book, if I may use the phrase." The *Politics* "shows a Shakespearian understanding of human beings and their ways, together with a sublime good sense." Epicureanism "absorbs all the Stoicism that is valuable, and leaves room for something else." "Damn *Tripes*, the curse of the nineteenth century"; they "have done excellent work, but it would be a mistake to keep them going when they have become a hindrance." "I knew Hallam much as the cannibal knew the missionary: I examined him."

'Archer-Hind dedicated a book to Jackson *φιλοσόφῳ, φιλοκάλῳ, φιλοφίλῳ*; and his colleagues, saluting his eightieth birthday, wrote that Trinity was "happy above all that in possessing you it possesses one of the great English worthies." As such he stands recorded here.'

'Mr. Mackail's memoir of the late Master of Balliol has been written at the request of the College, and is obviously addressed to the Master's friends. Its interest could not lie in the narrative of Strachan-Davidson's comparatively

D

uneventful career. Notwithstanding, moreover, that Strachan's life was in a peculiar sense wedded to the life of the College—he would almost have liked to have denied any more intimate tie to all the “brethren” of the Senior Common Room—the memoir is perhaps a little disappointing as a contribution to the history of the College, although it satisfies curiosity as to its subject's special part therein. The debt which Balliol owed him was immense, but it was a debt due to personal influence and generous personal service and to zealous promotion of achievement along traditional lines, much more than to the originating or advocacy of new ideas. It was not in Strachan's temperament to allow experiments to be tried with Balliol. Mr. Mackail's appreciation of his subject's value as a teacher is not grudging, but has the air of being a little second-hand. The later generation of undergraduates were inclined to murmur against Bruns' *Fontes* and to thirst after economic interpretations. I remember the unfortunate consequences of an undergraduate's attempt to obtain Strachan's views upon housing conditions in Italy in the time of the Gracchi. Strachan's lectures were an admirable training in the rigorous use of historic material and an excellent corrective for vague generalisation from supposed modern analogies. The real object of such a memoir is, however, to bring the individuality of its subject before its readers, and in this Mr. Mackail has succeeded. He will enable Strachan's friends to enjoy in some measure the illusion of again entering into his intimacy, and dwelling under the spell of his courteous and singularly charming personality. The effect of the text is curiously assisted by the well-chosen photographs, which are extremely characteristic.'

'The memoir of John Cook Wilson, by Mr. Farquharson, runs a risk of missing its public, for it is prefixed to a work in two stout volumes published at a guinea and a half: *Statement and Inference, with other Philosophical Papers*. But those who seek it out will be well repaid, for they will find it a very able picture of a society and a man—a pic-

ture which must convince even those who knew not Wilson, since it is drawn by one who sees his subject's faults as well as his merits, his weaknesses as well as his power, yet can portray him with warm affection as well as high esteem. Such a portrait cannot be miniaturised in a paragraph, but must be studied in all its breadth.

'Among scholars of sixty or more, the name of Cook Wilson will evoke memories of an old unhappy far-off thing. In the third volume of the *C.R.* "Wilson made two stinging attacks upon Archer-Hind in language provokingly magisterial in tone and suggesting, hardly covertly, literary dishonesty and pretence." Archer-Hind's two rejoinders were short and disdainful, but successful on the issues that he chose. Wilson followed with a pamphlet, to which came no reply. It is a pity that the biographer has taken silence for a confession of defeat. "Archer-Hind, poor man" (as he is here called), might have said much, and said it well, if he had thought fit; but he had a nice taste in controversy as in other things.'

'Though Francis Jenkinson was brought up on the classics and taught them for a while, he was not of note as a teacher or an advancer of classical knowledge; but many scholars knew him as the Cambridge University Librarian, and they will be glad to renew his acquaintance in Dr. Stewart's delightful memoir of one of the best and dearest of men.'

A correspondent writes:

'The note recording the revived popularity of the Classical Tripos at Cambridge, which appeared in the *C.R.* for February, suggests that its readers may be interested to know what has been done in recent years for the better organisation of classical studies in some of the younger Universities. Down to 1893 they all, including London, provided courses leading to Classical Honours. But these courses were taken by a very small number of students; the three or four, for instance, that Manchester produced year by year was a fairly typical number; London had

rather more, other Universities rather less. But in Wales, when in 1893 the Colleges were delivered from the stultifying makeshift of external examinations, they adopted, in the Faculty of Arts, the Scotch system of courses in separate departments, each course being "completed" by a corresponding examination; thus candidates for a Pass Degree, who choose Latin for their main subject, take Latin courses of three grades, one in each of their three years, and complete each course by an examination in June. This arrangement, which has since been adopted by the University of Manchester, has the great advantage of making each department autonomous; the success or failure of each student in the examinations in each subject depends entirely on the work he does in that subject and is in no way affected by his performance in others; and, what is even more important, each department controls its own standards and is not assailed by demoralising pleas for indulgence to bad work because the student happens to have done well in other subjects. Experience has shown that in Greek and Latin, no less than elsewhere, this system tends steadily to raise the standard of performance required at each stage.

'But what effect had this improvement in the mechanism of examinations on the special study of classics? In Wales separate courses in Honours in Latin and Greek were at once established, as a logical corollary of the change in the Pass examinations; though candidates in either language were required to take and "complete" at least one year's course in the other. This soon attracted a much larger number of students to Latin Honours than had ever been known to attempt Honours in Classics; for in the great majority of the new schools then being founded by the score in Wales, there was no Greek. On the other hand, the number of candidates in Greek, though gaining a little from the general increase due to the establishment of the University on an independent basis, remained, and has since (I believe) remained, almost stationary. But many, if not most, of the students

who have taken Honours in Greek have been led to do so by taking Latin Honours first; and it is clear that this is *a priori* the likeliest way to secure students for Greek from the mass of the new schools where it is hardly taught at all.

'But in the Northern Universities of England the type of Honours School in which two languages are studied with equal requirements in the two had been longer established, and has not yet been altogether abandoned, though first at Manchester, and later at Liverpool, Honours began to be given for work of larger extent in a single language only. English, French, and other modern languages had thus secured their independence, save for minor accessory courses, at Manchester before the war; and the steady demand from students who as yet knew no Greek, for the M.A. course in Latin (which is in effect a course of Honours standard) showed that an Honours Course in Latin would meet a real need. But in establishing this, care was taken to insist upon a substantial modicum of Greek; candidates for Latin Honours, if they have done no Greek at entrance, must begin it forthwith, and give several hours a week to it all through their three years; and whether they begin Greek then or have begun it earlier, they must pass the general (ordinary B.A.) examination in Greek before they take their degree. This provision has largely increased the number of students taking Greek, and provides a steady supply of teachers capable of handling Latin matriculation classes (Fifth Form) in a scholarly way—a task which the cheaper kind of headmaster or headmistress had continually demanded, and demanded mostly in vain, from graduates who had taken merely a Pass Course in Latin without Greek.

'Side by side with this Latin Honours Course, Manchester (and Liverpool also) established a parallel Honours Course in Greek, with a parallel requirement of Latin up to the Pass standard; and students for Latin Honours who obtained any of the University scholarships were required to take Honours in Greek also, in a subsequent year. Since this change there have always been



students taking the Greek Honours Course, before or after that in Latin; but they have been fewer even than those who attempted the old Honours Course in Classics. Very few indeed of the students in the younger Universities can afford more than the minimum number of years needed for their B.A. degree; and those who are going to be teachers, if they have to choose between Greek and Latin as their main subject, are bound to choose Latin as being in much larger demand. Hence a certain number of students, coming from schools where they had had an opportunity of learning Greek, were discouraged from pursuing their study of Greek to an Honours standard.

'This drawback to the single-language system, though it affected only a small proportion of the students, seemed nevertheless serious. To meet it, Manchester has now established a third course, side by side with those in Latin and those in Greek, of Honours in Greek and Latin combined. This demands four years, unless the student can show at the end of his first year by passing the Preliminary Honours examination (normally taken at the end

of the second year) that his preliminary training has really fitted him for Honours work in both subjects *pari passu*. It is too early to judge of the effects of this new step, which of course involves some difficulties in the organisation of the Latin classes; but it has attracted some students from schools of the older type, without diminishing the numbers of those seeking admission to the Honours School of Latin. The quantity of Latin literature which is read for Classical Honours is, of course, considerably less (*i.e.*, by about half) than for the Honours School of Latin; but it is representative enough to enable a good student to read more widely by himself—which is, after all, the most important claim that can be made for any undergraduate course.

'Readers who are not concerned with the business of classical teaching will have turned away from these notes long before this point. But those who are set to handle any one side of these practical problems may be glad to know something of one attempt recently made to widen the ways of access to classical study in this country.'

## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΙΒΑΝΤΩΝ.

### PART I.

SOME students of Greek folklore and religion may be familiar with my research<sup>1</sup> into the modern Greek superstition concerning a kind of vampire, or, to use the Greek word, *vrykolakes*. By a close analysis of the beliefs and customs involved I endeavoured to remove from the superstition the Slavonic and the ecclesiastical accretions and to isolate the genuine Hellenic element, which I summarised thus: 'The human body sometimes remains incorruptible in the earth, and in this state is liable to resuscitation; persons so affected stand as it were half-way between the living and the dead, resembling the former when they walk the earth, and the latter when

they are lying quiet in their graves or, if unburied, elsewhere; during their periods of resuscitation they act as reasonable human beings, but their whole condition is pitiable, and the most humane way of treating them is to burn their bodies; disintegration being thus secured, they return no more to this world, but are numbered among the departed. Further the causes of such a condition are threefold—lack of burial, sudden death, and execration or deadly sin deserving of it.'<sup>2</sup>

Such was my conclusion reached by the process of eliminating the demonstrably foreign elements in the modern superstition; and it remained to verify that which I claimed as the Hellenic residue by the aid of classical literature.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, pp. 361-484.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 412.

In so doing, I stated that there was, so far as I knew, one story only in ancient literature which contained anything like a full account of a corporeal *revenant*. This story, related by Phlegon,<sup>1</sup> deals with the bodily resuscitation of a girl named Philinnion; and all the incidents of it, such as the relations of the girl with her lover Machates, the emptiness of the vault where she had been buried, the discovery of her in the guest-chamber where Machates lodged, and the final cremation of her body, are in complete accord with that which I had claimed to be an ancient Hellenic superstition. The date of this story I erroneously took to be the time of Hadrian, assuming that the narrator, who speaks in the first person, was Phlegon himself. Erwin Rohde has however shown<sup>2</sup> that Phlegon was quoting a letter written by Hipparchus to Arrhidaeus, half-brother of Alexander the Great; that the scene of the story was Amphipolis; and the date during the reign of Philip II. of Macedon.

This error was occasioned by the fact that the opening of Phlegon's story is lost; but a more serious consequence of that loss is that in the surviving part of the story no cause is assigned for Philinnion's resuscitation; we can only guess that her early death had been sudden or violent. I may perhaps add that the ancient conception of what I have called 'sudden' death would appear to have been more comprehensive than the modern conception, including all premature deaths as well as those occasioned by violence; and it might be supposed that Philinnion, who obviously died young, should be included among the *ἄωποι*, as they were called, if not among the *βαιοθάνατοι*.<sup>3</sup> The interpretation however given to the word *ἄωποι* by Tertullian, in the phrase *animas immaturas et innuptas*,<sup>4</sup> would exclude Philinnion, who apparently had

been married to Craterus, one of Alexander's generals, for some months before her death.<sup>5</sup> The actual cause of her resuscitation remains therefore a matter of conjecture only.

Phlegon's story thus corroborated two points in my theory—namely that the belief in bodily resuscitation existed among the ancient Greeks, and that cremation was regarded by them as the appropriate means of treating the body of the person so affected. But in order to prove that the three causes assigned for such resuscitation—lack of burial, sudden death, and execration or deadly sin deserving of it—were in fact recognised by the ancients, I necessarily had recourse to no complete story, but to a number of hints and suggestions scattered throughout Greek literature.

Now in dealing with these three causes I found that the last-mentioned presented no difficulty. Curses imposing incorruptibility and resuscitation after death are common among the Greek peasants of to-day and in their folk-songs; and I was able to adduce from ancient literature instances of curses<sup>6</sup> substantially the same in form and implying therefore the same belief. But with respect to the other two causes—lack of burial and violent death—I was constrained to admit that 'the whole trend of ancient literature in regard to both these calamities is the same, namely that they caused the return of the dead man's spirit—of his spirit only, be it noted, and not of his body.'<sup>7</sup>

The arguments by which I endeavoured to show that literature had in this respect deliberately modified and refined the gross popular superstition by substituting a ghostly phantom for a corporeal vampire need not here be recapitulated; evidence of the existence of the superstition in its crudest form among the ancients has now come to hand, and forms the subject of this and a following article—evidence which indeed includes a reconstructed story more sensational even than that of Philinnion.

<sup>1</sup> *Mirabilia*, cap. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Rhein. Mus.*, Vol. XXXII., p. 329. For this reference and the correction of my error I am indebted to Collison Morley, *Greek and Roman Ghost Stories*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> For the association of these two words see Tertullian, *de Anima*, 57; and cf. many passages cited by Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 373, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* 56 ad fin.

<sup>5</sup> See Rohde in *Rhein. Mus.*, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> *Modern Greek Folklore, etc.*, pp. 417-427.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

It appears strange to me now that, with all my former research into this superstition, I failed to explore adequately one path of enquiry—enquiry into the ancient nomenclature of *revenants*. I pointed out indeed that, if the folk of ancient Greece believed in such beings, they must have called them by some name,<sup>1</sup> and I proceeded to prove that the word *ἀλᾶστωρ* in its original signification (together with certain synonyms, such as *μάστωρ* and *προστρόπαιος*) was the exact equivalent of the modern *βρυκόλακας*—indicating, that is, primarily a resuscitated person wandering over the earth in pursuit of vengeance or indulging in other nefarious activities.<sup>2</sup> But I temporarily overlooked the fact which I had recorded earlier,<sup>3</sup> that *vrykólakas* is not the only modern name applied to such a being. The word *vrykólakas* is mainly understood as denoting him in the actual exercise of his vampire-like proclivities, whereas there are other appellations which describe rather his mere physical condition; the word *τυμπανίτης* or *τυμπανιαῖος* for example indicates merely an incorrupt corpse which has its skin stretched tight like the parchment of a drum, and does not in itself imply the possibility of reanimation. The question which I omitted to put to myself was whether ancient Greek had an equivalent for such terms as these.

An equivalent exists: the word *ἀλίβας* (with its rarer synonym *σκελετός*) indicates a dead body which, instead of decaying, has become dry and withered and remains whole and incorrupt. Of this meaning there can be no doubt; *σκελετός* by its actual derivation, and *ἀλίβας* by the derivation most commonly attributed to it, whether rightly or wrongly,<sup>4</sup> in antiquity, are proved to

denote a dead body (*νεκρός*) which is 'dried up' or 'deprived of moisture,' and no suspicion can arise that a writer who used that term could have been thinking of a ghost or spirit or phantom; *ἀλίβας* is essentially an inanimate body, and there is nothing in the word itself to suggest even that such a body can be reanimated, whereas a disembodied spirit is denoted by *ψυχή*. The whole testimony of ancient writers and of the lexicographers is united in this respect.<sup>5</sup>

This fact being clearly established, I may now take as my text a passage of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, where, s.v. 'Ἀλιβάντας (sic), will be found these words: τοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ τελευτήσαντας. ἢ τοὺς ξηροὺς. ἄλλοι τοὺς διὰ πενίαν ἀτάφους.

The importance of this passage lies in two things. First it removes any suspicion, such as some of the more loosely-worded interpretations of the word *ἀλίβας* might engender, that any and every *νεκρός* might be called an *ἀλίβας*. Quite clearly certain classes only of dead bodies tended to become *ἀλίβαντες*. To this indeed Plato too incidentally bears witness,<sup>6</sup> for it is the mention of *ἀλίβαντες* and the like, but not of *νεκροί* in general, which he says causes every hearer to shudder. 'Ἀλίβαντες then are a class, and in some way a terrible class, of *νεκροί*. Secondly the passage gives us, in the form of alternative explanations of their name, specific information concerning their physical state and the causes of that state.

The explanation given by the words ἢ τοὺς ξηροὺς is obviously that with which I have already dealt; such bodies, we are to understand, were in actual

which has been conjecturally restored as ἔβηξαν οἶον ἀλίβαντα (i.e. οἱ ἀλίβαντα) πίνοντες; cf. Hippocrax, fr. 102 in Bergk, *Lyrici Graeci*, and Adam on Plato, *Rep.* 387c; and (2) on a purely conjectural restoration of a fragment of Sophocles, which may not even have been in iambic metre; see Pearson, *Sophocles* (Fragments), fr. 790. In the first of these passages *ἀλίβας* means 'vinegar,' in the second it is the name of a river in Hades.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Plutarch, *Quaest. Symp.* VIII. 10 ad fin. (736 A); Galen, l.c.; Eustathius, l.c.; *Etym. Magn. l.c.*; Hesychius, l.c.; Suidas, s.v. Κήρ.

<sup>6</sup> Plato, *Rep.* 387 C.

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Greek Folklore, etc.*, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 462-484.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 381.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. by Galen, *de temperamentis*, I., cap. 3 ad fin., καλεῖσθαι γοῦν ἀλίβαντας τοὺς νεκροὺς ὡς ἂν μηκέτι λιβάδα καὶ ὑγρότητα κεκτημένους οὐδεμίαν. Cf. *Etym. Magn.*, s.v., 'Ἀλίβας; Hesych., s.v., ἀλίβαντες; Eustath. in *Hom.* 1559, 44, and 1679, 29 ff., etc. The derivation has often been rejected on the ground that the initial *a* in *ἀλίβας* is long. This assertion depends (1) on a line attributed by *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. ἀλίβας, to Callimachus, ἔβηξαν οἶνον ἀλίβαντα πίνοντες,

appearance withered and dry, and their name denoted accordingly 'lack of moisture,' as explained by the *Etymologicum Magnum* immediately afterwards, s.v. ἀλίβας.<sup>1</sup> But the two other interpretations offered carry us further.

A sea-faring people such as the Greeks must inevitably consider drowning as one of the commoner forms of sudden death. In this passage the drowned may be taken therefore as representative of the βιοιοθάνatoi in general, the reason for the selection of them being manifest: the very word under consideration ἀλιβάντας (sic) bears a wrong accent of set purpose as an index to its supposed meaning—dead and 'gone' (βάντας) 'in the sea' (άλί), as Stephanus too noted in his reference to the passage.<sup>2</sup> So then it is established by these few words that the drowned, and with them all presumably who had met a sudden or violent end, were believed in old time not merely to wander in ghostly guise, as the bulk of literary references would seem to indicate, but to have their bodies too withheld from corruption, and presumably therefore susceptible of reanimation from time to time by the wandering soul or ghost.

The same thing, according to this authority, is true of the unburied; and here again his words, I feel sure, hint at a supposed derivation; for he speaks not of the unburied in general, although the lack of burial was clearly what mattered, but of those who owing to poverty remained unburied. Why then 'owing to poverty'? Was he this time adopting a derivation from the root λιβ as employed in λίψ and λοιβή

rather than in λιβάς, and suggesting that these poor folk were unburied, or at any rate inadequately buried, because they did not leave behind them the means to provide the libations or unguents proper to a funeral? Perhaps so; but his etymological eccentricities have at least this merit, that they have preserved to us the knowledge that the unburied as well as those who met a violent death became ἀλιβαντες.

I may perhaps be pardoned some natural satisfaction in pointing out how completely this *trouville* vindicates the arguments which I formerly employed and the conclusion which I reached in dealing with the old literary tradition that the unburied returned merely in the form of ghosts. No logical or consequent reason, I urged, was assigned by Homer, and no reason of any kind by Euripides, for the interest shown by the ghost of Patroclus or of Polydorus in the burial of its discarded body. 'Either then,' I wrote, 'there was no popular belief on the whole subject—which is incredible—or else it was such as literary propriety forbade them to follow. Now if the popular belief was that the unburied appeared as corporeal *revenants*, their eagerness for burial is intelligible; but if a ghost be substituted by literary convention for the *revenant*, a good reason for such eagerness becomes hard to find. Hence the inconsequence of Homer's reason; hence the silence of Euripides.

'But if, as now seems likely, the substitution of mere ghost for bodily *revenant* was a literary convention, it by no means follows that that convention is valueless as a guide to the popular beliefs of the time. It may represent a part of those beliefs, though not the whole. . . . Judicious selection rather than arbitrary invention was the method by which the literary tradition was established. Since then that tradition uniformly speaks of the soul's return, while discrepancies only arise in accounting for the soul's interest in the corpse, was it perhaps only in the latter respect that literary tradition parted company with popular belief? Did the spirit as well as the body of the dead play some part in the popular superstition? Did the common-folk

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλίβας, ὁ νεκρός, παρὰ τὸ μὴ ἔχειν λιβάδα μήτε θερμότητα, ὅ ἐστιν ὑγρότητα.

<sup>2</sup> Stephanus, s.v. Ἀλίβας . . . Aliter autem *Etym.* ἀλιβαντας dici ait τοὺς διὰ πνίαν ἐτάφους et τοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ τελευτήσαντας: ap. quem etiam nota paroxytonos scribi ἀλιβάντας, quasi eis ἀλα βάντας. In the Venice edition of the *Etym. Magn.* 1549, the breathing on the first vowel is omitted, as if to facilitate further the derivation. Eustathius (1559, 50) would seem to have observed the misaccentuation of ἀλιβάντας in the *Etym. Magn.*, for he notes somewhat irrelevantly (*ad Od.* 6. 201) that the accent of ἀλίβας is thrown back on the analogy of the word ἀλίκρας, though elsewhere he does not accept the derivation which this analogy implies.

too hold that, after the separation of soul from body at death, the soul itself under certain conditions returned from its flight towards the house of Hades—returned however not to appear alone in ghostly guise, but to reanimate the dead body and raise it up as a *revenant*? Was this the popular doctrine from which literature selected, recording the soul's return, but suppressing the re-animation of the body, and thereby creating for itself the difficulty of explaining the soul's interest in the body?<sup>1</sup>

The discovery that the bodies of the unburied, as well as of the other classes enumerated, were believed in antiquity to remain whole and incorrupt—tenements, as it were, awaiting reoccupation by the wandering ghost—settles beyond cavil the answer to those questions. What was an arguable surmise becomes now a certainty. The modern superstition concerning *βρυκόλακες* or *τυμπανιαῖοι*, stripped of extraneous accretions, does in fact preserve essentially unchanged the superstition of the ancient world concerning *ἀλάστορες* and *ἀλίβαντες*. Only the names are changed.

Now the recognition of this strange belief as an element, and, if we may judge by its continued hold on Modern Greece, one of the strongest elements in ancient Greek religion has wide and momentous consequences. The connoisseur in comparative religion must find food for thought in the fact that that preservation of the dead body which in Egypt was deemed vital to the repose and well-being of the departed was deemed in Greece the one thing fatal to such repose; and again in the fact that that resurrection of the body to which Christians of all time have been bidden to look forward with sure and certain hope was the one possibility beyond the veil of death which excited in pagan Greeks the utmost terror. These fundamental contrasts of religious theory or psychology I leave to experts; but it needs no expert to appreciate now the better that historical scene on the Areopagus when Paul first spoke to the Athenians of him whom God 'raised from the dead,' or

to understand why, 'when they heard of the resurrection from the dead, some mocked'—at his invitation to worship what they conceived as an *ἀλίβας*—and why 'others said, We will hear thee again of this matter.'<sup>2</sup>

But if I provide only a new problem in comparative religion, I may claim to provide in ancient Greek literature a solution of problems; for I will venture to assert that there are certain passages of the *Oresteia*, for example, which can be fully understood only by one who is conversant with the characteristics of an *ἀλίβας*.

The contemporaries of Aeschylus and of the other tragedians were perfectly familiar with them. Thus Aristophanes can make a passing allusion to the 'Stone of Withering' (*τὸν Αὐαίνου λίθον*), as one of the terrors of the underworld, in the full assurance that his audience will appreciate the shudders of Xanthias and the *οἶμοι κακοδαίμων* which the phrase evokes.<sup>3</sup> It is we only who need and welcome the scholiast's note that in inventing the 'Withering-Stone' Aristophanes based himself on the fact 'that the dead wither and become *ἀλίβαντες*.'<sup>4</sup> Yet how many readers of Aeschylus apply the knowledge thus obtained to that

ἕμνος ἐξ Ἑρμῶν,  
δέσμος φρενῶν, ἀφόρμηκτος, αἰὼνὰ βροτοῖς,<sup>5</sup>

and realise that *αὐονά* here has the same implication as the *Αὐαίνου λίθος* in the *Frogs*? Yet the scholiast here again knew what Aeschylus meant, for he explains *αὐονά* by (*ἕμνος*) *ὁ ξηραίνων τοὺς βροτοὺς*. Xanthias then feared that the 'Withering-Stone' would turn him into an *ἀλίβας*; and Orestes too is doomed by the binding-spell of the Furies to become an *ἀλίβας*. Tragedy and comedy alike could use the superstition for their own ends.

Indeed Aeschylus harps upon this belief as on an instrument of tragic fear, justifying Plato's statement that the mere thought of *ἀλίβαντες* makes

<sup>2</sup> Acts xvii. 31, 32.

<sup>3</sup> Aristoph. *Frogs*, 194 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Schol. ad Aristoph. *Ranas* 186, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς νεκροὺς αὐαίνεισθαι καὶ ἀλίβαντας εἶναι, repeated in similar words in the scholium on 194 (i.e. *ξηρὸν εἶναι* instead of *αὐαίνεισθαι*).

<sup>5</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 330 and 345.

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 432-433.

men shudder. The verbs *ισχναίνω*,<sup>1</sup> *κατισχναίνω*,<sup>2</sup> *μαραίνω*<sup>3</sup> are all used in turn of the 'shrivelling' and 'parching' of Orestes at the hands of the Furies, and prepare us for the final audacity by which the curse chanted by the Furies is named *αὐονά*, the very act and process of withering. *Καὶ ζῶντά σ' ἰσχνάνας' ἀπάξομαι κάτω*,<sup>4</sup> cries one of them, threatening even in Orestes' lifetime so to 'wither' him that he must needs be an *ἀλίβας* after death, and using, as it chanced, one of the very words which Herodotus employs in reference to the 'drying' or 'reducing' process by which a mummy was withheld from decay.<sup>5</sup>

But it was not only at the Furies' hands and in vengeance for Clytemnestra that Orestes was menaced with this fate. I have shown elsewhere<sup>6</sup> that, when and where the vendetta has been in vogue in Greece, a son who should fail to avenge his murdered father has been held to lie under his dead father's curse as an accessory to the crime itself, and to be liable to the same penalties as the actual murderer. The dilemma therefore of Orestes was this—that whether he slew Clytemnestra or, by sparing her, failed in his duty to his dead father, there awaited him the same penalties, culminating in that of becoming an *ἀλίβας*. Clearly then it is in this sense that we must interpret the culminating sentence in Apollo's warning to Orestes,

πάντων δ' ἄτιμον κἀφίλον θνήσκειν χρόνῳ  
κακῶς ταριχευθέντα παμφθάρτῳ μύρῳ,<sup>7</sup>

and allow the word *ταριχευθέντα* to bear here, like *ισχνάνασα* above, the same sense as it bears in Herodotus<sup>8</sup>—and indeed the only sense which it bears in all Greek literature—'preserved' and 'withheld from corruption.' I need not reiterate here the arguments by which I previously<sup>9</sup> attacked any other rendering: it is surely manifest

now that *ταριχευθέντα*, no less than *ισχνάνασα* and the other terms quoted, refers to the physical condition of an *ἀλίβας*. The very tense used shows how parallel in thought are the two passages. Just as the Furies threaten to suck the very life-blood from Orestes' living frame, and thus render him sere and sapless ere they hale him to the lower world, so precisely the 'leprous blains that shall leap upon his flesh, and with savage jaws eat out its erstwhile vigour,'<sup>10</sup> will, so Apollo warns him, leave him withered and dry, physically an *ἀλίβας*, even before death comes.

May I then in the certainty that Aeschylus in one passage after another was playing upon the horror which *ἀλίβαντες* inspired, adventure one step further, and offer a correction of the existing text in this last passage? The words *παμφθάρτῳ μύρῳ*, with which the passage ends, I formerly interpreted as providing a strong contrast with *κακῶς ταριχευθέντα*, and I accordingly rendered the whole phrase as meaning 'damned, even in the doom that wastes all, to know no corruption.' Now if the word *παμφθάρτῳ* (itself *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*) is correct, no other meaning is possible; but first I suspect that, if Aeschylus had desired to coin an adjective meaning 'all-destroying,' his form would have been *παμφθόρος* on the analogy of *πολυθόρος* which he actually uses; and secondly I feel that in this final phrase, the very climax of all the horrors which Orestes must face if he should fail to avenge his murdered father, the closing words should have a cumulative rather than an antithetic effect, and should reinforce rather than contrast with *ταριχευθέντα*. The true reading therefore, I believe, is *κακῶς ταριχευθέντ' ἐπ' ἀφθάρτῳ μύρῳ*, 'horribly withered and doomed to incorruption.' On the one hand the textual error supposed is of the slightest; the mere misreading of the abbreviated form of *ἐπὶ* in a manuscript which employed contractions would at once generate *παμφθάρτῳ* and cause *ταριχευθέντα* to be written in full without elision; while, on the other hand, the gain of the whole phrase in cumulative force is

<sup>1</sup> Aesch. *Eum.* 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 137-139.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 137-139.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 267.

<sup>5</sup> Herod. III. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Mod. Gk. Folklore*, etc., pp. 440 ff., with special reference to Aesch. *Choeph.* 924-925, and Eurip. *Or.* 580 ff.

Aesch. *Choeph.* 287-288.

<sup>7</sup> Herod. II. 86 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Mod. Gk. Folklore*, etc., pp. 421 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Aesch. *Choeph.* 280-281.

vast; for indeed, if I were asked for a definition of an ἀλίβας, I could give none better than κακῶς ταριχευθέντ' ἐπ' ἀφθάρτῳ μώρῳ.

The reconstructed story of an ἀλίβας, to which I referred earlier, will form the subject of a second article.

J. C. LAWSON.

### NOTES ON THE PHILOCTETES.

22 f. δ μοι προσελθὼν σῖγα σήμαιν' εἶτ' ἔχει  
χώρον πρὸς αὐτὸν τόνδε γ' εἶτ' ἄλλῃ κυρεῖ.

JEbb and Masqueray accept Blaydes's τὸν αὐτὸν in place of πρὸς αὐτόν, which, notwithstanding Radermacher's attempt to combine it with προσελθὼν, is generally regarded as indefensible. But the violence of the remedy should give cause for hesitation. I have proposed πρόσσυλον, which would correspond to πρόσσοικον, as πάραυλος stands beside πάροικος. As to its suitability I must refer to Jebb's remark: 'Odysseus is sure that the cave is somewhere near (16). His doubt is whether Philoctetes still lives in it, or has removed to some other part of the island.'

29 f. NE τὸδ' ἐξῆπερθε, καὶ στίβου γ' οὐδεὶς τύπος.  
ΟΔ δρα καθ' ὕπνον μὴ καταυλισθεὶς κυρῇ.

N. is climbing the rocks with a view to the discovery of the cave. In place of the vulgate τύπος L supports κτύπος, and most modern editors follow its authority. But there is something to be said for τύπος. στίβου is *track* rather than *footsteps*, of a man's treading, that could be heard (*nomen actionis*). Wunder had anticipated Jebb's argument in favour of κτύπος, that without it v. 30 loses its special point; but, as Hermann says, it would be a strange thing for Neoptolemus to say that no sound of footsteps could be heard in order to prove that Ph. was absent. For we must consider the object which Odysseus had in view in despatching Neoptolemus to investigate. It was to find out whether Ph. was still in occupation of the cave. N. seemed to be over-hasty in drawing a conclusion when he said, after pointing to the cave above him, that there was no sign of a regular track (*cf.* 487 ἐρῆμον οὕτω χωρὶς ἀνθρώπων στίβου). It was in answer to the unexpressed inference supposed to be in the mind of N. that Odysseus proceeds: Nevertheless he may be indoors (resting within asleep), so take care! When N. has climbed into the cave, O. concludes at

v. 40 that Ph. still occupies it and must be somewhere near. The abruptness of the dialogue is technically correct. As Neoptolemus moves from point to point the situation is continually changing, and there are intervals of silence between the successive speeches. Hence 30 does not directly answer 29.

327 f. τίνος γὰρ ὦδε τὸν μέγαν  
χόλον κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγκαλῶν ἐλήλυθας;

Radermacher, the latest German editor, defends the text as given above, but holds as against Jebb that τίνος depends upon χόλον, quoting *inf.* 751, 1308, O.T. 698, A1. 51, three of which passages were cited by Jebb to prove the contrary. It may be that in this latter point Radermacher was right, but the issue is not a vital one in view of the larger difficulties of the text. Cavallin finds the three following blots: (1) τὸν μέγαν for τόνδε τὸν μέγαν; (2) the phrase χόλον ἐγκαλεῖν; (3) ἐγκαλεῖν κατ' αὐτῶν. O.T. 702 λέγ' εἰ σαφῶς τὸ νεῖκος ἐγκαλῶν ἐρεῖς is insufficient to justify (2) even if that be taken alone. For I think it will be admitted that the paraphrase which Jebb is forced to adopt ['Now, on account of what have you come thus charging them with (having provoked) the great anger (which you show)?'] is a somewhat cumbrous mode of expression for 'why are you so angry with them?' There is no obvious reason for such obscurity. Observe how M. Masqueray's version avoids the difficulty: 'quelle est la cause de la grande colère dont tu es ainsi animé contre eux?' But read ἐγκαλῶν and everything falls into its place: τὸν μέγαν χόλον then follows naturally on 324 f.: 'What is the cause of the violent wrath which—now that thou art here—thou summonest *up* against them?' This rendering of ἐγκαλῶν follows Shakespeare's 'Stiffen the sinews, *summon up* the blood' in *Henry V.* (III. 1), which might be rendered συντείνειν' ἵνας, ἐκκαλεῖν' ὀργήν



φρενῶν. For reasons which do not need to be urged in detail, ἐκκαλεῖν came to be used in this connexion chiefly in the middle voice; for the parallel use of this cf. Aesch. Ag. 270 χαρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη, Aeschin. 2. 3 τὴν ὑμετέραν ὀργὴν ἐκκαλέσασθαι βεβούλευται (cf. id. 1. 174). Examples of the active in Sophocles where his readers might look for the middle will be found in the Index in Vol. III. of my edition of the *Fragments*, s.v. 'active for middle.' Add Schroeder's *Prolegomena* to Pindar II. § 93, Monro on *Il.* 17. 742.

425. Ἀντιλοχος αὐτῷ φροῦδος ὅς παρὴν γόνος.

So Musgrave with the change of a single letter for ὅσπερ ἦν of the MSS. Jebb accepts this, but I do not think he has seized the full force of the expression. He attributes to it the 'general sense that the son was the stay and comfort of his father's old age.' Let me premise that αὐτῷ is governed by παρὴν: the scarcely noticeable hyperbaton is characteristic. 'He has lost Antilochus, the son who once stood at his side.' The full significance of the simple words is not realised, unless we remember the current maxim that the true son is only he whose friends and enemies are the same as his father's. *Ant.* 641 τοῦτου γὰρ οὐνεκ' ἄνδρες εὐχονται γονὰς | κατηκόους φύσαντες ἐν δόμοις ἔχειν, | ὥς καὶ τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἀνταμύνουνται κακοῖς, | καὶ τὸν φίλον τιμῶσιν ἐξ ἴσου πατρί. Eur. fr. 84 ἡ τί πλέον εἶναι παῖδας ἀνθρώποις, πᾶτερ, εἰ μὴ 'πὶ τοῖς δεινοῖσιν ὠφελήσομεν; For παρὲναι as to assist cf. Eur. Or. 1159 καὶ πλησίον παρήσθα κινδύνων ἐμοί. The legal use (= *adesse*) is well known: Dem. 21. 182, 34. 12 etc.

533-5. Ἰωμεν, ὦ παῖ, προσκύσαντε τὴν ἔσω δοικον εἰς οἶκον, ὥς με καὶ μάθης ἀφ' ὧν διέξω ὥς τ' ἐφυν εὐκάρδιος.

It is unnecessary to repeat the *apparatus*, except to say that authority is equally balanced between εἰς οἶκον and εἰσοίκεσιν. But if ever there was a *vox nihili*, εἰσοίκεσις surely merits the description, notwithstanding the laboured advocacy of Jebb making the best he could of a bad case. But for the sheep-like procedure of modern editors, I should have said that Schneidewin's γῆν for τήν in 533 (for

which see Bast, p. 710) was a certain emendation removing every trace of difficulty. Consider the following evidence: *inf.* 1408 στείχε προσκύσας χθόνα. Ag. Eq. 156 τὴν γῆν πρόσκυσον καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς (with Neil's valuable note), Aesch. Pers. 499 γαίαν οὐρανόν τε προσκυνῶν, Soph. O.C. 1654 ὀρώμεν αὐτὸν γῆν τε προσκυνούνθ' ἅμα καὶ . . . Ὀλυμπον. Polyb. XV. 1. 6 ὥς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσπάσαιντο καὶ τὴν γῆν προσκυνήσαιεν. Ἰωμεν then goes with ἔσω εἰς οἶκον. The view of Jebb and others that it means 'let us leave Lemnos' obliges them to attach ὥς to προσκύσαντε, which is absurd: see the tell-tale dash after 'within' in Jebb's translation. As for the argument that our view involves an awkward abruptness, such is not the case. Philoctetes says, 'How can I convince you of the sincerity of my thanks? There is only one way: come in and see what I have endured.' But if Ἰωμεν means what Jebb thinks, the whole of the rest of Philoctetes' speech must be an afterthought, and Ἰωμεν is entirely isolated. If any one is inclined to prefer προσκύσαντε, observe that there would be no need to enter the cave for the purpose of performing the ritual act, which should not be postponed. But the chief object of entering the cave is given by the ὥς clause.

536. οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν δμῃσιν μόνῃν θέαν ἄλλον λαβόντα πλὴν ἐμοῦ τλήναι τάδε.

μόνην] μόνον Blaydes.

This is the only example in Sophocles where the adjective μόνος *adverbiascit*. On the other hand, he was partial to μόνον as an adverb, and there are eighteen instances quoted by Ellendt. Hence I think that Blaydes was right in conjecturing μόνον. The sense, of course, is 'the sight alone *without the residence* would have been enough to break another.' Jebb's note is unusually arbitrary: he quotes two examples of μόνον which serve no purpose, and does not attempt to justify μόνην, which he says need not be changed.

582. μὴ με διαβάλης στρατῷ λέγονθ' ἂ μὴ δεῖ.

The disguised merchant is alarmed in case his words should be repeated. But Jebb's translation of μὴ διαβάλης,

'don't *accuse* me . . .', is wrong. Camerarius (quoted by Blaydes) rightly interprets: 'ne me reddas invisum Graecorum exercitui.' See the passages quoted in Soph. *fr.* I., p. 153, and especially Eur. *Hclid.* 422 (ὅπως) πολίταις μὴ διαβληθῆσθαι, *I.A.* 1372 (where Iphigenia refuses to accept the self-sacrifice of Achilles in his readiness to protect her) τοῦθ' ὁρᾶν χρὴ μὴ διαβληθῇ στρατῶ.

984 f. εἰμ', ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε καὶ τολμήσσετε,  
οὐδ' ἐκ βίας ἀξουσιν ;

I accept Professor Housman's condemnation of *τολμήσσετε* as impossible. In support of his *τόλμης τέρας* he has been good enough to draw my attention to Porson's correction of Damoxenus *ap.* Athen. I. 15b *τέρας τι κάλλους* (wrongly recorded as *πέρας τι κάλλους* by Kock III., p. 353, and Cobet, *N.L.*, p. 72). He adds that *πέρας* is also possible here in view of the passages quoted by Cobet, *N.L.*, pp. 71-2. There does not, however, appear to be any example in tragedy of either *τέρας* or *πέρας* so employed. I propose *τόλμης πέρα*, which was suggested by *fr.* 189, ὦ πᾶν σὺ τολμήσασα καὶ πέρα γυνή. The corruption supposed involves the change of π to τ and the subsequent confusion of comparative and superlative terminations which is illustrated by Cobet, *N.L.*, p. 119. By 'beyond boldness' I understand 'having gone to the limits of boldness and beyond it.' If it should be objected that the adverbial phrase cannot be employed as = ὁ πέρα *τόλμης* ὦν, as if it were *ὑπέρτολμος*, the answer is that *πέρα δίκης*, *πέρα θαυμάτων*, and *πέρα μύθων* are so found in *El.* 521, Eur. *Hec.* 715, *I.T.* 839 and 900—that is to say, co-ordinated with or standing in the place of adjectives. Add Ar. *Av.* 417 ἄπιστα καὶ πέρα κλύειν, where Blaydes gives further illustration.

1092-4. εἴτ' αἰθέρος ἀνω  
πτωκάδες ὀξυτόνου διὰ πνεύματος  
ἐλῶσι μ' οὐδ' ἐτ' ἰσχύς.

1092. εἴτ' Schroeder: εἴθ' codd.: εἴθ' Radermacher.

1093. πτωκάδες uix sanum: γρ. πτωμάδες, πτωκάδες, πτωκάδες, πρωτάδες, δρομάδες Σ: fort. πτωάδες, ἀαεε *horrificae*, uelut *Harpurum επίκλησις* (alia in animo habuit I. H. Voss, *Myth. Epist.* I. 211).

1094. ἐλῶσι μ' B: ἐλωσί μ' LA rec.

1092. Jebb's *πέλειαι* is impossible, if for no other reason, because the *synaphea* requires a vowel at the commencement of this line. As regards the general sense, the notion that the timorous birds will chase Philoctetes through the upper air commends itself to M. Masqueray but to no one else. Nor can we believe that Ph. was waiting for the birds to come and destroy him. The main question is whether we are to follow the scholiast in finding a reference to the Harpies (storm-winds) sweeping Ph. off to destruction. I cannot agree with Jebb that 'obviously' this 'was merely a forlorn attempt.' The impression that it leaves upon me is rather that the scholiasts were struggling to fit a traditional explanation into the text as they found it. The problem centred in *πτωκάδες*, which was felt to be unintelligible—at any rate, in this connexion. The loss of the bow meant for Ph. that a situation, which hitherto was scarcely tolerable, would become hopeless. Thus he can no longer choose but yield to the whirlwinds which will carry him to destruction. For the Harpies as ministers of disappearance or death see Eustath. p. 1414, 38, Rohde, *Psyche*, I. p. 71 (quoting the tragic instances, in which he doubtfully includes this). For Homer, cf. Z 346 προφέρουσα κακὴ ἀνέμοιο θύελλα | εἰς ὄρος ἢ εἰς κύμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης. | υ 61 ff. αἶθε . . . μ' ἀναρπάξασα θύελλα | οἵχοιτο προφέρουσα κατ' ἡρώεοντα κέλευθα. | α 241 ἀκλειῶς ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρέψαντο.

*πτωάδες* is of course only a guess. Voss, who hit on the same letters, aimed at producing something equivalent to 'herstürzende' from *πτωτός*—surely an impossible word. What may be said in favour of πτ. as 'dread monsters' will be found in Lobeck, *Path. El.* I. 442, Macan on Hdt. 8. 135, Pindar, *fr.* 51 (schol. Pausan. IX. 23. 6), Gruppe *Gr. Myth.*, p. 755, Roscher s.v. Ptoios, Rouse *Greek Votive offerings*, p. 11, Hesych. III. 405 Πτωίδες· νύμφαι (referred to the nymphs indigenous to Mt. Ptoon). There was a temple of Apollo Ptoias called Ptoon, on a mount above the Copaic lake. They compare the Schreckhorn in the Bernese Oberland.

1140. ἀνδρὸς τοι τὸ μὲν εὖ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν.

These simple words have in their combination successfully defied interpretation, and have often been regarded as corrupt. Campbell, in my judgment, comes nearest to the truth: 'Truly, it is a man's part heedfully to assert what is right.' That is to say, he has seen that τὸ qualifies εἰπεῖν and that δίκαιον is its object. But he fails to satisfy by missing the force of δίκαιον, which has become a substantive and means a *plea*. So translate: 'it is a true man's part fairly to urge his plea.' The usage is an Atticism, and, as is natural, is found mainly in the Orators and in Euripides. In Demosthenes it occurs frequently as a *claim* without any moral connotation: e.g., 32. 24 ὡς ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν ἐώρων δίκαιον αὐτοῖς ἐνόν. But it is more to the purpose to establish it for Euripides: *I.T.* 559 ὡς εὖ (just as here) κακὸν δίκαιον εἰσεπράξατο, *I.A.* 810 τοῦμόν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον ἐμὲ λέγειν χρεῶν, *Hclid.* 138 πολλὰ δ' ἦλθον . . . δίκαι' ὁμαρτῇ δρᾶν τε καὶ λέγειν ἔχων 'rights at once to enforce and to plead,' *ib.* 368 οὐκ ἄλλο δίκαιον εἰπῶν, *Andr.* 1162 (of Apollo) ὁ τῶν δικαίων πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις κριτῆς. It has often been observed that traces of Euripidean influence are to be seen in the *Philoctetes*; here we seem to have a case in point.

1149-1155: Without pretending to be able to solve the serious difficulties under which this passage labours, I think there are certain details about which agreement should be possible.

1. Jebb seems to feel no difficulty in referring αὐλίῳν to the lairs of the various animals, and that seems to be the natural course. It should, however, be remembered that αὐλίον is used in this play only of the cavern abode of Philoctetes, though always in the singular: cf. *Hom.* X 470 αὐλιν ἐσιέμεναι (of birds).

2. If πελάτ' is kept, we must follow Hermann in rendering it as *adducetis* 'you will attract.' Then πέλασσον in 1163 = 'allow to approach.'

3. We should not hesitate, if so much is allowed, to attach ἀπ' αὐλίῳν to φυγᾷ alone. The restriction is common: see on *Soph. fr.* 771.

4. I cannot help thinking that χώρος

ἐρύκεται is an echo of *Hom.* K 161 ὀλίγος δ' ἔτι χώρος ἐρύκει. If so, ἐρύκεται must be middle as in M 285 κύμα δέ μιν προσπλάζον ἐρύκεται. The object (ύμᾱς) may be readily supplied. The contrasting force of ἀνένεαι: ἐρύκειν, as we see it in *Hom.* Z 256)(ι 302, clearly points to an intentional oxymoron.

5. The punctuation of the passage with a full-stop after ὑμῖν is deplorable. The heavy stop, if employed at all, should follow τανῦν, and the run of the sentence is vastly improved if a comma is placed after ἐγώ as after ἀλκάν previously.<sup>1</sup> But the chief blot is due to the failure of the critics to observe that ἀλλά introduces ἔρπετε and not ἐρύκεται. We have, in fact, an unnoticed example of the idiom ἀλλά = ἀλλὰ γάρ, to which I have drawn attention on *Eur. Phoen.* 99 ἀλλ' οὔτις ἀστῶν τοῖσδε χρίμπτεται δόμοις | κέδρου παλαιὰν κλίμακ' ἐκπέρα ποδί.

1365: The words following συλῶντες and extending to ἔκριναν were rightly removed by Brunck. The suggestion made in the critical note to insert ὕστερον δὲ σὲ | Ὀδυσσέως κρίναντες in their place is due to the feeling that δ . . . συλῶντες is lacking in amplitude without some such addition. Moreover, the existence of these words in the original text would encourage interpolation by those who were familiar with the rivalry of Ajax and Odysseus and the formal decision between their claims, but knew of nothing similar in the relationship of Odysseus to Neoptolemus.

1367: ξυνήνεσας at least must assuredly be right, even if Blaydes's emendation is not accepted in its entirety<sup>2</sup> (cf. 1398).

1383. πῶς γάρ τις αἰσχύνοιτ' ἂν ὠφελοῦμενος;

The conjecture ὠφελῶν φίλους should be rejected. Jebb, who supports it with an analysis of the subsequent dialogue, shows no trace of his usual perspicacity. τις refers back to σοί τε κάμοί, but Philoctetes chooses to interpret it as a reference to the Atridae rather than to himself. He charges Neoptolemus

<sup>1</sup> I regret that by an oversight the punctuation of my text has not been corrected.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ μ', ὁ ξυνήνεσας, | πέμψον πρὸς οἴκους.

with considering *their* welfare rather than *his* (ἡ 'π' ἐμοὶ τόδε; 'does this concern me?' O.C. 414 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν Φοῖβος εἰρηκῶς κυρεῖ;). Neoptolemus answers: It is *you*, and I am *your*

friend: that is what I mean. We may justly infer that Socrates and his choice of τὸ ὠφέλιμον was not far from the poet's thoughts (Zeller's *Socrates*, p. 179, E. tr.).  
A. C. PEARSON.

### VERGIL AND PLAUTUS.

qui non risere parenti,  
nec deus hunc mensa, dea nec dignata cubili  
est.

So, according to Quintilian,<sup>1</sup> runs the text of *Eclogue* IV. 62-3; the MSS. have *cui non risere parentes*. That Quintilian's reading gives better sense is reasonably certain; that it is possible grammar is less so. Various scholars, in various languages, have protested against it as a sheer solecism, and emendations such as *hos* or *hinc* have been put forward. And, indeed, it would be pure nonsense to say, for instance, *qui erant in castris milites, hunc eduxit*. But that is because, in such a sentence, the singular and plural numbers would have each its proper meaning, and therefore would contradict each other. In a general statement like Vergil's, it is a matter of indifference which we use; *qui non risere . . . hos* and *qui non risit . . . hunc* would be equally pos-

sible. So in English it makes not the slightest difference whether we say, 'If a man wants to travel, he must learn French,' or 'If people want to travel, they must learn French.' And consequently we often, illogically but not unintelligibly, combine the two, and say, 'It anyone wants to travel, they must,' etc. And so did colloquial Latin. There is no variant in the following passage of the *Rudens* of Plautus, 1193-4:

sat in si *quoii homini* di esse bene factum  
uolunt,  
aliquo illud pacto optingit optatum *piis*.

It can hardly be doubted that the *piis* are the same persons, or is the same person, as the *homo* of the preceding line. 'Surely, if the gods want anyone to prosper, somehow the good fortune comes, if they've been deserving.' That the refined literary Latin of the *Eclogues* has an occasional colloquialism (as III. 50, *numquam hodie effugies*) is no news to students of them.

H. J. ROSE.

### NOTES ON JUVENAL.

I. 55 cum leno accipiat moechi bona si  
capiendi  
ius nullum uxori.

THE *Lex Voconia* seems to have fallen into disuse with the disuse of the censorship. Friedländer suggests that the husband may have had a child by a former marriage, but this hypothesis is perhaps unnecessary. According to a generally accepted view the *Leges Caducariae* did not apply against a man if he had one child, whereas a woman required three to give her full rights. Thus in a household with one or two children the husband would have *ius capiendi*, the wife would not. This may be the case supposed by Juvenal.

III. 14 Iudaeis quorum cophinus faenumque  
supellex.

VI. 542 faeno cophinoque relicto.

This passage is inadequately dealt with in the English editions. Mr. Dunbabin has shown in *C.R.* XXXIX., Nos. 5, 6, p. 112, that Duff is in error in supposing that hay would not serve the purpose for which the scholiast says it was intended. The repetition of the phrase suggests that what is meant is a 'hay basket,' not 'hay and a basket,' and that the hay basket, as Friedländer says, was a noteworthy feature of the Jewish household. The view of the scholiast is supported by the following references supplied to me by Mr. J. Walker of Alexandria in Egypt.

(a) *Babylonian Talmud*, translated by Rodkinson and Wise, vol. I<sup>2</sup>, p. 83. 'Wherein may hot vessels be deposited (to retain the heat) and wherein may they not? Depositing in Gepheth (olive waste), dung, salt, lime, and sand, either wet or dry, is not allowed. In straw, grape-skins, wool-flocks, or grass, it is permitted provided they are dry, but not when they are still wet.' Duff suggests that the Jews as beggars might have been content with a cold meal once a week, but Friedländer has pointed out that to the orthodox Jew Sabbath was to be a day of joy, so that even the poorest would try to get a hot meal in spite of the prohibition against cooking.

(b) Some account of the practice is given by Professor A. R. S. Kennedy in *Studia Semitica et Orientalia*, p. 36 (with a reference to Kreugel, *Das Hausgerät in der Mishnah*, p. 40 f.). The pot with its contents still 'piping hot' was placed in a large hamper filled with some non-conductive material and was then covered over.

The word used for 'hamper' is

*qubbah*, from which are said to be derived Greek *κύπη*, Latin *cupa*, but which still means in Arabic 'a basket.' It has apparently no connexion with *κόβινος*.

I am unable to consult the papers of Rönsch referred to by Friedländer.

III. 215. ardet adhuc, et iam accurrit qui  
marmora donet,  
conferat impensas;

Mr. Duff explains *impensae* to mean materials, and quotes three passages in support. There is a somewhat similar use of *impendia* in the *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Alexandri*, XXXII. 3), 'eumque muneratus est ita ut priuatus pro loco suo posset honeste uiuere, his quidem muneribus: agris, bubus, equis, frumento, ferro, impendiis ad faciendam domum, marmoribus ad ornandam et operis quas ratio fabricae requirebat. aurum et argentum raro cuiquam nisi militi diuidebat, etc.'

The context here seems to show that *impendia* refers to materials, and so tends to support the same interpretation of *impensae*. A. CAMERON.

### THE ERETRIANS IN CORCYRA.

THREE writers in the third volume of the *Cambridge Ancient History* (Mr. Wade-Gery, p. 535; Dr. Cary, p. 618; and Professor Myres, p. 651) have declared for the Eretrian colony in Corcyra. The case is weaker than their statements would suggest, and some of their arguments illustrate what seem to me dangerous methods of historical reconstruction.

The existence of a pre-Corinthian Eretrian colony upon Corcyra rests upon one literary authority and one alone—Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 11. The statement on p. 618 that it is also attested by Strabo is mistaken. Strabo, X. 1, 5, 449, says that in Corcyra there was a place named Euboea, as there was also in Lemnos and in Argos. Does this attest an Eretrian colony in the Argolid? Euboea was, of course, a cult title of Hera, and this no doubt explains the distribution of the place-name. The cult of Hera also explains the presence in Corcyra of one of the entourage of that goddess, the nymph Makris, upon whose slender shoulders Wilamowitz (*Hom. Untersuch.*, p. 172) rests some of the weight of the alleged Eretrian colony. It is not impossible that Beloch (*Gr. Gesch.*<sup>2</sup> I., p. 247) may be right in thinking that the whole story of the Eretrians in Corcyra has arisen from a misunderstanding in antiquity as to the significance of the place-name.

Now Dr. Cary lends a special weight to the attestation of Plutarch by a device of which we

have probably all been guilty at some time or other. Plutarch has 'a specialist's knowledge of Central Greece.' That, of course, is quite true, and it lends great weight to his information upon certain points—e.g., what was the ritual or tradition of Delphi in his time. But it does not seem to me to give him any particular authority for an event nine hundred years or so before. Further, though it cannot be proved, unless a fortunate chance should bring us the right papyrus, anyone who is thoroughly familiar with the *Greek Questions* is likely to agree with Giessen (*Philologus*, 60, pp. 468-9) that there are heavy odds in favour of this story being taken by Plutarch either from the *Constitution of Corcyra* or from the *Constitution of Methone*, the former existence of both of which is attested by surviving citations. I should myself prefer the *Constitution of Methone* for an anecdote explaining a derisive (?) nickname applied to the Methoneans. As we know from experience of the *Ath. Pol.*, the Aristotelian Constitutions are at best patchwork, and the historical value of statements in them depends upon the particular source. Upon the face of it this story belongs to a kind of aetiological anecdote which can hardly be said to possess very much greater historical value than most of the tales in *Little Arthur's History of England*. It is at best poor evidence.

Now the real argument for an Euboean colony of some sort is that it has seemed hardly credible that Euboeans when developing

their western movement should have left Corcyra out. Hence every effort has been made to bolster up the passage in Plutarch from other sources.

Dr. Cary tells us that the approximation of Carystian and Corcyraean coins supports the Eretrian colony, and shows that Carystus took part in it. A is said to have colonised C; B has a coin standard near that of C; therefore A and B colonised C. Is that really logical? There is no other evidence that Carystus had anything to do with colonising Corcyra.

Actually we have two other accounts of the colonisation of Corcyra by Corinth, both of which know nothing of the alleged Eretrian predecessors. According to Ephorus the Corinthians drove out Liburnians (Strabo, VI. 2, 4, 269); according to Timaeus (*Schol. Ap. Rhod.* IV. 1212, 1216, *F.H.G.* [Müller] I. p. 203) they ejected the Colchians. In both the Corinthians are the first Greek settlers. The Colchians have, of course, come in from the Argonaut saga; the Liburnians are presumably aborigines akin to those of the rest of the Illyrian coast and islands.

Professor Myres tells us (p. 651) that the Eretrians colonised Corcyra, that Liburnian 'pirates' came and drove them out, then Corinthians came and drove the Liburnians out. Now I submit that this process, though very commonly employed, of harmonising two contradictory traditions by combining them to form a third which disagrees with both, is very unconvincing. The tradition gives us a choice of Corinthians driving out either Eretrians or some non-Greek people; there is no hint anywhere of a non-Greek people driving out the Eretrians.

I am concerned only to point out that the case for the prior Eretrian colony is very weak. I cannot substantiate its non-existence, though I cannot help feeling that had it been an established tradition in the fifth century Thucydides would have given it passing mention. To arrive at certainty seems impossible. The early traditions of Corfu are even more difficult to evaluate than those of other Greek settlements. The early identification of Phaeacia and the western development of the Argonaut saga, as to the historical value of which I should not agree with Professor Myres, have begun the confusion. And then one cannot help suspecting that the Corinthian settlement has been very greatly post-dated in order to achieve one of those tidy synchronisms which Greek tradition loved. That Corinthians were in Corcyra long before Syracuse was founded, and that that perhaps is why neither Chalcidians nor Eretrians settled there, seems to me quite possible; but I do not pretend that it can be justified by evidence, nor claim for it greater authority than that of a personal superstition of my own.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

SOPHOCLES, *ANTIGONE* 909 ff.  
(C.R. XXXIX. p. 151.)

IN his interesting note upon this passage Mr. Mavrogordato has missed, I venture to think, its real interest for students of folk-tale, which was first pointed out by Pischel, *Hermes* XXVIII., 1893, pp. 465 ff. The matter is borrowed from the work of the poet's friend Herodotus (III., 119), the Persian story of *Intaphernes' Wife*. But the same *motif* also occurs in the earliest known stratum of Indian stories; for it is found both in the *Jatakas* and in the *Ramayana*, which here appear to draw upon a common and earlier source. It is, therefore, an example of a story contact which can be traced in European literature before the foundation of Alexandria. For the problem raised by such contacts, and my reasons for conjecturing that the true explanation may lie in a diffusion East and West from a common centre in the Persian Empire, I may refer to my papers in *Folk-Lore*, XXXIV., pp. 117-140, and *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XI., pp. 95-102.

I am not sure whether it has been previously noticed that a different tale, but belonging to the same genre of 'what dear ones are replaceable,' occurs in the Egyptian story of the deserters (Herodotus II., 30). The genre is fairly common in ballad literature, as Mr. Mavrogordato has indicated. An example occurs in a Bulgarian gypsy version of 'The Song of the Bridge,' which will shortly be published in the *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

ANOTHER FRAGMENT OF THE  
*HYPsipyle*?

IN Volume II. of the *Petrie Papyri* there is a 'Tragic Fragment' numbered XLIX. (d) DX, which runs:

σε τον δυσωνυμον  
εμφανη παιδος μορον  
εω συναορον  
δε και φησιν κτανειν  
φως ποινας οπως  
ε εικотως  
ελεγεεν  
εμοι  
ηται

The original has disappeared and Mahaffy gives no description. I suggest, however, that this fragment really belongs to P. Petrie XLIX. (c) now British Museum Papyrus 590—which was identified by F. Petersen in *Hermes*, XI. IX. (1914), p. 156, as from the *Hypsipyle* of Euripides. A close parallel to the above lines will be found in the speech of Hypsipyle to Amphiarao (P. Oxy. VI. 852, fragment 60, ll. 34-36):

εἰπε τιδε συμφοραν τεκνου·  
παρων γαρ οἶσθα· φησι δ' ἥδ' ἐκουσίως  
κτανειν με παιδα καπιβουλεύσαι δόμοις.

The *δυσώνυμος* must surely be Archemoros. The exact position of the lines in the play must remain a conjecture.

H. J. M. MILNE.

CIC. *AD FAM.* VII. 1. 1.

'Neque tamen dubito quin tu in illo cubiculo uo, ex quo tibi Stabianum perforasti et patefecisti sinum, per eos dies matutina tempora lectiunculis consumpseris, cum illi interea, qui te istic reliquerunt, spectarent communis mimos semisomni.'

THIS is the Oxford Text reading of a corrupt passage, not yet convincingly emended. In the preceding sentence Cicero says he is glad that Marius, to whom he is writing, has enjoyed his 'otium,' provided only that he has made good use of it ('modo ut tibi constiterit fructus oti tui'), *i.e.* to get on with his literary work. 'And yet,' he continues in our passage—and 'tamen' here obviously means 'in spite of the claims of literature'—'I doubt not that you spent your morning hours,' not, surely, in any sort of reading, but, as the context almost forces us to infer, 'in admiring the scenery.'

'Lectiunculis' is a snag in the current of the context, and incompatible with 'tamen.' It is curious that so accurate a translator as Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh should have rendered 'tamen' here as though it were 'enim,' of which there seems to be no trace in the MSS. Did he, too, recognise the impossibility of reconciling 'tamen' with 'lectiunculis'? Klotz seems to have been on the right track in coining and uttering 'spectiunculis'; but, unless it is textually indefensible, why not 'spectaculis,' anticipating and balancing the coming 'spectarent'?

'Sinum' is Boot's suspiciously facile conjec-

ture for 'senum' ('Misenum' Lambinus); according to Nobbe, Benedict, though not quoted by Tyrrell and Purser, suggested 'scenam,' which (especially if originally written 's'enam') would account for the strange persistence of 'sen' in the codd., and incidentally support 'spectaculis' (or 'spectiunculis').

Again, there is the doubtful 'in' before 'illo cubiculo,' where Dr. Tyrrell, in spite of its difficulty, gallantly defends the 'ex' of the MSS., explaining it as an instance of 'inverse attraction'; but if 'spectaculis' be read, 'ex' hardly needs defence.

Professor Reid's 'perorando patefecisti' for 'perforasti et p.' is irresistible.

Adopting these alterations, then — 'ex' for 'in' before 'illo cubiculo,' 'Stabianam perorando patefecisti scenam' for 'Stabianum p. et p. sinum,' and 'spectaculis' for 'lectiunculis'—we should have a plainly intelligible sentence with nicely-balanced clauses, which might be diffusely paraphrased as follows: 'And yet (in spite of your literary labours) I have no doubt that *you*, looking out of that bedchamber of yours, from which, by making a gap' (either by inserting a new casement in the wall of the house, or, more probably, by felling trees) 'you have opened up *for your own private benefit* a view of the Stabian stage, spent the morning hours' (when the sun would not be in your eyes) 'during all those days in gazing at your scenes, when *they* meantime, who left you where you are, were gazing at farces on the *public* stage, and were hardly able to keep awake.' W. GLYNN WILLIAMS.

## REVIEWS

## ATTIC VASE PAINTERS.

*Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils.*

By J. D. BEAZLEY. One vol. Pp. xii + 612. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1925. Unbound, M. 21; bound, M. 24.50.

In his *Vases in American Museums*, published in 1918, Professor Beazley gave an account of the main groups into which he had divided Attic red-figure vases and of the chief vase-artists he had discovered. But he was somewhat hampered in having to relate his attributions to specific vases in American museums. Meanwhile he has added largely to his material and now at last gives us his complete list of attributions.

The present book, written in German and published in Germany, is composed of lists of the vases attributed to vase-artists, who are arranged in chronological order. Apart from very brief

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comments on the artists the bare lists have to speak for themselves. The impressive magnitude of the work will be realised when it is known that the lists occupy 460 pages, that some 5,000 vases or fragments are attributed to the hand of some painter, and that 177 painters are distinguished, the large majority of whom are Professor Beazley's discovery.

The importance of Professor Beazley's work, mentioned when his *Vases in American Museums* was reviewed in these columns, is probably now sufficiently realised to need no further comment here. But an important question may well be asked, What is to be the outcome of Professor Beazley's completed researches? If his attributions are right (and it is probable that most of them will be confirmed by those who are able to check his conclusions) it is

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very desirable that they should influence the way in which vases are arranged in museums. As far as possible the works of an artist should be grouped together and labelled as a group. By this means the enjoyment of the student and of the amateur should be very much increased. No one but a specialist is likely to have the time to pick out in a large collection of vases the works of a single vase-artist and consider them together, but if the vases are grouped the process of becoming acquainted with the individuality of an artist is

made comparatively easy and quick; and on such acquaintance a great part of the pleasure to be got from Attic vases rests.

One of the fitting conclusions of the work that Professor Beazley, his predecessors and colleagues have done would be that Attic red-figure vases should altogether cease to be a mass of ill-distinguished material, and become for any intelligent observer a class of works of art in which the personalities of many artists stand out as clearly as in the Dutch paintings of domestic life.

E. M. W. TILLYARD.

### DEMOSTHENES IN THE EYES OF THE ANCIENTS.

*Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums* (von Theopompos bis Tzetzes; Geschichte, Roman, Legende). Von ENGELBERT DRERUP. One vol. Pp. 264. Würzburg, 1923.

DRERUP is 'a bonny fighter.' His *Aus einer alten Advokatenrepublik* was an onslaught on the lawyer-politician. In the preface to this volume he returns to the charge: 'Die Kaiser und Könige sind geflohen, abgesetzt, ausser Landes getrieben, gestorben, ermordet; die Advokaten haben gesiegt.—Denn auch in unserm einst so stolzen Vaterland herrscht heute eine Republik der Gasse und der Demagogen, deren sich ein Kleon und der Wursthändler des Aristophanes nicht zu schämen brauchten.' Yet there is a President in Germany.

In 1805, when Germany was under Napoleon's heel, the works of Demosthenes were a clarion-call to German youth. To Niebuhr Demosthenes was the burning patriot, the far-sighted statesman, the champion of freedom. It is a far cry from Niebuhr to Drerup. Not so far to Clemenceau's flaming eulogy. For the latter, Phocion is 'un citoyen intègre, général intrépide, mais défaitiste obstiné'; against Demosthenes all charges fall to the ground—as inconsistent with the character of Demosthenes! So hard is it to read history save through the darkling glass of our own predilections.

The present work is one of vast erudition and penetrating acuteness of judgment. It is fair in tone. It is not unworthy of the accomplished editor of Isocrates, of the brilliant scholar whose

services to the Demosthenes text it would be difficult to over-estimate. I can give no higher praise.

No one of Demosthenes' contemporaries passes a favourable verdict on Demosthenes; not Aeschines, not Hypereides, not Deinarchos, nor another. Pytheas is full of personal invective; the pointed *Ἀνμάδεια* give us the *chronique scandaleuse* of Athens. Theopompos and Ephoros are equally unfavourable. They were, it is true, of Macedonian sympathies, or, at least, 'above the narrow political standpoint of Athenian particularists.' Not even in Aristotle is there a trace of approval.

The charge of corruption by Persian gold, originated by Aeschines, reinforced by Hypereides, Deinarchos, and Deme-trios of Phaleron, became the *crambe repetita* of school declamation.<sup>1</sup> The 'Demosthenes-roman' we owe to the Peripatetic biography, to Idomeneus of Lampsakos, Hermippos of Smyrna, Satyros and Sotion—gossip-mongers one and all. The piquant anecdote, the scandalous repartee, largely drawn from comedy, passed into the historical writing of the third century which aimed at story, not history. The Demosthenes-legend was fathered by Demochares in his *History of His Own Times*. In 280 B.C. we have the bronze statue erected in honour of Demo-

<sup>1</sup> Add *Berliner Klassiker Texte* VI., p. 10 (Kunst, 1923). 'D. had an honest policy where there was no one to bribe him. Otherwise, περιῆλθιν σε ἡ πλεονεξία καὶ κατίσχυνε τοῦ ἐν σοὶ λογισμοῦ' ε.τ.λ.

sthenes, with the famous epigram engraved on its pedestal. Drerup (p. 87-8) regards this as a political demonstration of the moment; 'it hardly proves that the evil reputation which the orator had in contemporary literature was regarded as a slander.' It was Hieronymos of Rhodes who initiated the unbounded admiration of Demosthenes in the schools: he praises the agonistic quality of Demosthenes as contrasted with the lifelessness of Isocrates.

This is but a brief summary of a minute discussion that extends from Theopompos to Tzetzes. The treatment of Plutarch, pseudo-Plutarch, and Lucian's *Encomium* is especially worthy of note.

I can hardly subscribe to Drerup's view that there is no contemporary evidence in favour of Demosthenes: cf. Dein. c. Aristog., § 16 *Δημάδῃ καὶ Δημοσθένει . . . οἷς εἰ μὴ πάντ' ἀλλὰ πολλά γε συνῆστε χρήσιμα πολιτευόμενοις*. The approbation is *ad hoc*, and Deinarchos was no Sir Hubert Stanley. But the whole Athenian people showed Demosthenes a signal honour in selecting him to pronounce the laudation of those who fell at Chaeronea. Drerup's attempt to minimise this fails to carry conviction (*Aus einer alten A.*, p. 140). Demosthenes continued to hold office, and when he tholed his assize in 330 B.C., it was to the triumphant vindication of his policy. Nor do I believe that Persia in the fourth century was a serious menace to Greece. And the 'romantic sentimentality which regards the day of Chaeronea as the death-day of Greek freedom' (*Aus einer alten A.*, p. 135) was shared by Lykurgos,<sup>1</sup> who speaks of Chaeronea 'where the liberties of Greece were buried in the graves of the fallen.'

Drerup's insistence that Demosthenes was a hero of phrase and gesture, devoid of political insight and of no high personal integrity, is a wholesome antidote to such superlatives as 'a burning patriotism combined with the religious zeal of a prophet, the practical statesman, who in the sweep of his eloquence never fails to point out the concrete

way to success, the moral idealist' etc.<sup>2</sup> But is it true?

Demosthenes was no doubt disingenuous—in XIX. 111-3, he denies his own share in the transactions with which he deals. In VIII. 7 he is unstinting in self-praise. The common authorship of XXXVI. and XLV. is hard to defend. In IX. 15 he descends to downright lies. Demosthenes was a politician, and a Greek politician.

But bribery is another matter. Hypereides<sup>3</sup> accuses Demosthenes of having received bribes from the Persian king, from Harpalos, and from Alexander, besides 60 talents from the sale of honorary decrees! In col. xix. he shows his hand: 'By taking the middle course Demosthenes has prevented other satraps from deserting from Alexander.' Taking this in conjunction with the defence imputed to Demosthenes, 'that it was to pleasure Alexander that the council was willing to ruin him' (col. xiv.), I find the report of the Areopagus intelligible. In col. iii. Hypereides waxes indignant—*συκοφαντεῖς τὴν βουλὴν, ἐρωτῶν πόθεν ἔλαβες τὸ χρυσίον, καὶ τίς ἦν σοι ὁ δούς, καὶ ποῦ*. But these are highly pertinent questions.

It is easy to accuse Demosthenes of lack of political insight after the event. But Demosthenes might reasonably assume that the Macedonian monarchy would crumble at the death of Philip. He was not to foresee that a great father was to be followed by a greater son. He was not to foresee that Greek culture was to penetrate the East, that Athens was destined to die to herself to live to mankind. Had he foreseen it, he might well have reluctated against such a diffuse and insensible immortality.

To Drerup Demosthenes is the rhetor *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Clemenceau is dissatisfied with Dion. Hal.'s tribute to Demosthenes' eloquence 'puisque la parole ne peut être que vain bruit sans l'action. Au sens achevé du mot, Demosthène fut un homme. C'est assez. A y bien regarder, c'est beaucoup.' One is reminded of Plutarch, chap. xii. *ὁμολογεῖν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀπεχθανομένους ὅτι πρὸς ἑνδοξον αὐτοῖς ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστί*.

W. RENNIE.

<sup>1</sup> Against Leokrates, § 53.

<sup>2</sup> Botsford, *Hellenic History*, p. 436, published in 1922.

<sup>3</sup> Col. xxiv.

## ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

*Notes critiques sur l'Histoire d'Alexandre : première série.* By GEORGES RADET.

Pp. 86. Bordeaux: Feret et Fils; Paris: Boccard, Klincksieck, 1925.

IN 1895 Professor Radet put forward, simultaneously with Kaerst, the theory of Alexander's divine world-kingdom; and his forthcoming book on Alexander will be welcomed. The work here noticed is a reprint of six of his preliminary articles from the *Revue des Études anciennes*; there are others, and seemingly there is to be a second series. In this series, the first article settles that Alexander visited Ilium once only. The second examines Philostratus' story of the Thessalian theoriai to Achilles' tomb, with its attractive picture of Alexander's Thessalian cavalry galloping round the tomb and invoking the aid of Achilles' horses, Balios and Xanthos; there is a juridical appendix by Professor Paul Huvelin on the stones suspended over the Thessalian defaulters. The third seeks to show that the Phrygians, like others, believed in a central omphalos of the earth, theirs being the chariot at Gordium, presumably (like Priam's) furnished with an omphalos. The fourth is a careful analysis of the negotiations between Darius and Alexander, with a

decided preference for Curtius' version. The fifth deals with the story of the Tyrians chaining the statue of Apollo. To the list here given of chained deities may be added Apelles' painting of Alexander at Susa leading Ares in chains; for Radet's evidence shows that the latest interpretation of this picture (Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum*, p. 213) as meaning that Alexander had finished with war—extremely important if true—is misconceived; you chained a god to prevent him joining your opponents. The last article is a recent study of Alexander's visit to Ammon. Radet makes a spirited defence of Diodorus' story of the oracle, but it entails his believing in three propositions, all alike (in my view) unfounded and improbable: that stories of Alexander's divine birth were previously in circulation, that the king arranged matters beforehand with the priests, and that Diodorus' story must stand or fall as a whole. And he does not mention that four years passed before Alexander took any notice of the subject-matter of this wonderful oracle, and four more before anything really happened. Perhaps his book will deal with this awkward gap.

W. W. TARN.

## AN ITALIAN EDITION OF HERODAS.

*Eroda: I Mimambi.* Testo critico e commento per cura di NICOLA TERZAGHI. Pp. viii+200. Turin: Chiantore, 1925. Introduzione e traduzione di N. T. Pp. 100. Turin: Paravia, 1925.

FROM this—the first edition of Herodas in Italian—Italian students will get a very curious notion of the author. It is difficult to find any point at which the editor is right-minded: for instance, at VIII. 45 he combines the two hopeless readings *δισμυρί(α)* and *ἕκ τε γῆς λείης*. His critical notes are curious to a degree; it is interesting news e.g. to learn that in VIII. 35 *ωρηνειχε* are the only letters visible; whereas, in fact, two of these (ε) are wholly invisible, there is an ε before *ωρην* and at a distance

of two letters from *ιχ[ε, θιφ (or σ)* is easily legible in Nairn's facsimile, which T. has made no effort to use. Hence no doubt we may explain the fact that in v. 33, where the Cambridge edition gave five letters between *κοθορνου* and σ (probably one too many), he gives cheerfully eight! In fact the doubtful letter is η, and there are only three-and-a-half letters missing before it, e.g. *κνημη κ[οθορνου νιατ]η κα[τ]αζωστρη [ιλικτο]*: for after all it is the upper part of the foot or lower part of the *κνήμη* round which laces go. Again in 46 *ναλεσθαι κηλαλαξαν* with crit. n.: 'restituito e supplito dall' Herzog.' Yet in fact there is no letter missing in this verse at all, and Herzog never enters, nor professed to enter, into the matter

any more than the man in the moon. T. uses cheerfully the same fragment twice (like Mr. Edmonds<sup>1</sup>), once at VIII. 38 and once at IX. 12. His remark that all the loose fragments of papyrus were placed in Mime VIII. (see p. 399 of Headlam's edition) is a curious give-away. These mistakes are probably due to an ignorance of German and English; but Signor Terzaghi is still more unfortunately handicapped by a complete ignorance of the Greek language and of Greek metre. Here is the papyrus reading of VIII. 65:

κα[ ]τουτι[ ]ωνεληξαιτοενδι[ ]  
... ναδ[ ]... ωδε κτλ.

(In the first words there is no difficulty: I ought to have cited Soph. *Aj.* 294 *καγὼ μαθοῦσ' ἔληξ[α]*—'that was all he said to me,' Xen. *Anab.* I. 3. 12, Theocr. I. 138; and on the *ἐνδυτον*, Pind. *Nem.* I. 74.)

Here is Terzaghi's version: *καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδὼν ἔλεξα τὸ ἐνδυτον ἂν μου δοῦναι τιν' ὧδε.*<sup>2</sup> (I cannot find out what has become of the third letter of 66.) Indeed, it is hard to find any monstrous error in Greek which Terzaghi has not followed. The reading *κ[ο]σμεῖς* VIII. 76 (with *ῆ* or *ῆ*) and the second singular in *v.* 78,

which is the most glaring error of the Cambridge edition—for the accusative *Μοῦσαν* appeals always to a *third* person—has been followed as enthusiastically by Signor Terzaghi as by Mr. Edmonds (*l.c.*). Incidentally may I remark that *ῆ με* (or *μου*) . . . *ῆ με* is sufficiently guaranteed by Eur. *Bacch.* 443 (surely our best authority for a Dionysiac poem), that the relative with the *third* person is sufficiently attested *e.g.* by Eur. *Cycl.* 262 *μὰ τὸν Ποσειδῶ τὸν τεκόντα σ' ὦ Κύκλωψ*, that in *v.* 77 *ἐμοῖς* (Herzog) (preferable to Milne's *τιμῆς*?) with *Ξουθίδαις* = *Ἀθηναίοις*, and finally that the missing main verb can be more easily got by correcting *ἐπίουσι* into *ἐπιθύσει* than by a supplement after *τὸν πάλοι*?

Signor Terzaghi appears to proceed on curiously erroneous hypotheses (*e.g.*, p. 188, 'un autore come Eroda non si serve di modi di dire rare e difficili ma usa e deve forzatamente usare il linguaggio del volgo') by arguments of interminable length to a conclusion which bears no relation to Greek, no relation to the letters of the papyrus, and little relation to reason of any kind, while to defend, as he appears to do, the verbal inspiration of Crusius with theological warmth, is only possible by concealment of the fact that at no place (*e.g.* VII. 105-8), recently, has it ever been found to accord with subsequent discoveries.

A. D. KNOX.

## HELLENISTIC ASIA MINOR.

*Die Grenzen der hellenistischen Staaten in Kleinasien.* Von DR. PHIL. ERNST MEYER. Octavo. Pp. xvi + 186; 5 maps. Zurich: Inst. Orell Füssli, 1925.

DR. MEYER here gives us what we never had before, a comprehensive account of the political changes in the map of Asia Minor during that exhausting period of Hellenistic rule which flung the gates open to Rome. Beginning in Part I with the empires of Alexander (to 321 B.C.), Antigonos (to 301), and Lysimachus (to 281), we survey the territorial possessions in Asia Minor of the Ptolemies, of Rhodes, of the Ionian cities, of the

Pergamene, Bithynian, Pontine and Cappadocian kings, lastly of the Seleucid dynasty, and all fluctuations in their frontiers from 301 to the Peace of Apamea (188 B.C.). A difficult task successfully accomplished. There follow an appendix on the geographical balance of power after Apamea, a list of fifty-one additions and corrections (to which several could now be added), two good indices, and five outline maps.

So useful a book—a sort of international third-century *Baedeker*—should be brought up to date and reissued every few years; it strikingly illustrates the value of epigraphy as handmaid to

history, and shows how the light from inscriptions, coins, and papyri has enabled us to see details in the landscape which till lately were dim and forty years ago completely dark. For instance, one text, *Milet I*, 3 (1914), no. 139, has settled, at about 260 B.C., the long debated date of the collapse, which lasted fourteen years, of Ptolemaic sea-power; compare Meyer, p. 91, note 2, with Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas* (1913), App. xii. So also the coin published by Hill, *Anatolian Studies pr. to Ramsay* (1923), p. 211, establishes the connexion with Lysimachus of Ptolemy 'Telmessius'; cf. Wilamowitz, *Litteris*, i, 1924, p. 13. Meyer, p. 47, note 1, overlooks this and needs correction.

In so vast a view many points are still, of course, more or less open to

question, of which fact the author usually warns us by 'wohl,' 'wahrscheinlich,' etc. Once, however, this warning partly fails: on p. 136 the general peace under which large districts were ceded to Eumenes is dated in 252 B.C., whereas in the footnote to p. 93 that date bears the proper qualification 'wie es scheint.' The name of the *phyle Apollonis* at Bithynion (Boli) may have commemorated the god, instead of the queen Apollonis to whom it is here ascribed (p. 150). The Panamara inscriptions nos. 2 and 3, mentioned on p. 71, are united and restored by Oppermann, *Zeus Panamaros* (1924), pp. 20-21. Several more illustrative maps would be appreciated in the next edition.

W. H. BUCKLER.

### THE TEXT OF PSEUDO-ARISTOTLE *DE MUNDO*.

*The Text Tradition of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo.' Some Notes on the Text of Pseudo-Aristotle 'De Mundo.'* By W. L. LORIMER, M.A. (St. Andrews University Publications, XVIII. and XXI.) Pp. ix + 95, ix + 148. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1924-5. 3s. 6d. and 5s. net.

IN these two pamphlets Mr. Lorimer has given us a most thorough study of the MSS. and of the other evidence for the text of the *De Mundo*. In fact, perhaps no part of the Aristotelian corpus has been so carefully examined, so far as the tradition goes, by any English-speaking scholar; only Mr. Fobes's text of the *Meteorologica* can be compared with Mr. Lorimer's study in elaborateness. A point of interest which is discussed at the very beginning is the date of the *De Mundo*. Zeller is content to date it between B.C. 50 and A.D. 100; Mr. Lorimer, more definitely, thinks it was written between A.D. 40 and 140. The only reason, however, that he gives for the *terminus a quo* is the use of the phrase *ὥσπερ ἀμέλει*, which does not occur elsewhere before Plutarch and Dio Chrysostom. *ἀμέλει* occurs, however, in the sense of 'for instance' in Theophrastus. At any time after this *ὥσπερ ἀμέλει* might

easily have occurred, and its absence from other authors does not force us to push the *De Mundo* as late as Mr. Lorimer does.

Bekker cites only four MSS. for the *De Mundo*; Mr. Lorimer has traced no fewer than seventy-six, ranging in age from the (mainly) eleventh century Paris MS. which he calls A (Bekker's R) downwards. He has collated nineteen MSS. and acquired much valuable information about many others, including opinions as to their date from modern palaeographers. He holds that the MS. tradition cannot be broken up into mutually exclusive families, but that it can be divided into groups between which there has been a good deal of interpenetration. The main groups he recognises are:

1. B (a thirteenth-century MS. at Jerusalem), D (thirteenth century, Paris), + C (thirteenth century, Florence), G (thirteenth or fourteenth century, Rome).

2. Q (fifteenth century, Venice), Z (sixteenth century, Paris), with the Aldine *editio princeps*.

3. F (thirteenth to fourteenth century, Florence).

4. A, E (thirteenth or fourteenth century, Rome), H (ditto), P (fifteenth century, Rome).

He is inclined to think that most of the uncollated MSS. belong to this last group. He holds F inferior to the other three groups, and these about equal in value to each other, and suggests [that if we were limited to four MSS. it would be best to build an eclectic text on A (and E or H from 397 b 30, where A stops), G, P, and Z.

The indirect tradition is very rich. We have in Stobaeus excerpts including nearly two-thirds of the *De Mundo*, and the text of these does not seem to have been affected by the direct tradition during the Middle Ages. Mr. Lorimer holds that it is possible in a large measure to reconstruct a common archetype of the text in Stobaeus and in BDCG. Of versions we have (1) one by L. Apuleius (born c. A.D. 125), which is so free that it is usually hard to say definitely what Greek text he had before him. (2) An Armenian version which is assigned to dates varying from the fifth to the ninth century. It has most affinities with BDCG. (3) A sixth-century Syriac version, which cannot be connected specially with any group of the Greek MSS. (4) An anonymous Latin version probably made in the thirteenth century for Manfred of Sicily. Its affinities are with AEHP. (5) The thirteenth or fourteenth-century Latin version of 'Nicholaus Siculus,' also akin to AEHP.

There are in all, Mr. Lorimer tells us, some forty passages in which two or more members of the indirect tradition have a reading unknown to the direct. There are, however, at most twelve false readings universal in the direct and unknown to the indirect tradition.

Mr. Lorimer thinks that the archetype of the direct tradition must long antedate Stobaeus and the Syriac translation, and is probably earlier even than Apuleius, but that 'there was from the very first a continual criss-crossing of the lines of tradition,' so that a thoroughly eclectic procedure is necessary in the reconstruction of the text.

The earlier of the two pamphlets concludes with transcripts (based on the collation of several MSS.) of both the Latin versions.

The first subject discussed in the later pamphlet is the history of the QZAld. group. Mr. Lorimer has now collated three more MSS. of this group, and gives an exhaustive account of the agreements and differences within the group, and between it and others. He thinks the whole group is descended from the fourteenth-century Paris MS. which he calls W, and that this was in turn copied from the fourteenth-century MS. which he calls Fl. 19, of the AEHP group, and corrected from another MS. belonging to the BDCG group. Thus WQZAld. (as well as F) are hybrids between the two main groups AEHP and BDCG.

The remainder of the pamphlet is occupied with valuable discussions of single passages, in which many topics of interest—ancient estimates of the size of Great Britain and Ireland, the names of Zeus, the order of the planets, etc.—find exhaustive treatment. It is much to be hoped that these preliminary brochures will soon be followed by the critical text which Mr. Lorimer promises us. It will certainly mark a vast improvement on the somewhat perfunctory efforts of all previous editors.

W. D. ROSS.

## DELOS.

*Exploration archéologique de Délos, faite par l'Ecole française d'Athènes. VIII. Le Quartier du Théâtre: étude sur l'habitation délienne à l'époque hellénistique.* By JOSEPH CHAMONARD. Plans and drawings by H. Convert, A. Gabriel, G. Poulsen, and J. Replat. Pp. x + 463; 253 illustra-

tions and 66 plates. Paris: E. de Boccard, 1922 (pp. 1-232, Plates I-XXVII.); 1925 (pp. 233-463, Plates XXVIII-LXVI.). Fasc. I., 200 francs; Fasc. II., 200 francs; Atlas of Plates, 100 francs.

*Délos.* By PIERRE ROUSSEL. (Le Monde Hellénique: Archéologie-His-

toire-Paysages. Fasc. I.) Pp. 45; thirty-six illustrations, two maps in one. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925. 5 francs.

CHAMONARD'S magnificent publication, excellent in detail, is even more impressive as a whole. His theme is complicated, but we are familiarised, by gradual steps, with the history of the excavation (made possible by the generosity of the Duc de Loubat), and with the lie of the ruins, and are then conducted round them, house by house, with the help of two admirable plans, and many good drawings and photographs. Chamonard next generalises the facts about such recurring features as streets, drains, upper storeys, and courts, and finally devotes half the book to a still broader treatment of construction and technique. The student will not find much discussion of Greek houses as a whole, but he will find something rarer and more valuable—a full and candid presentation of all the facts about one most important site. The Theatre Quarter is an ill-planned jumble of jerry-built houses, reflecting Delos' precarious prosperity between the middle of the third and the opening of the first century B.C. After the disasters of 88 and 69 B.C., the district was almost deserted, and was stripped of marble and metal, though not of frescoes or mosaics. Within the limits of this review it is impossible to give much detail, but the following facts may be mentioned. All the houses had courts from the first, but all peristyles are here late and often imperfect intrusions of a type established elsewhere. No house had originally two courts, and there are no clearly marked women's quarters. Upper storeys are universal, and often richer than the ground-floors: but one upper floor, and

a total height of 30 or 40 feet, seem to be the limit. Almost all houses had one or more chief rooms presenting their long sides to the court. There were many windows, but never so placed as to destroy privacy. The roofs were mostly flat, and the rainwater from them was conveyed to covered cisterns (usually under the courts), which were carefully guarded from contamination. This was the only drinking-water, for the numerous wells tapped an untrustworthy stratum, the elaborate drainage being very imperfect—a system of leaky inaccessible sewers under the streets, which carried to the sea the refuse of the almost universal latrines. Twenty-eight of these have been identified (some in upper storeys): they were flushed only with slops, and the sewers were not connected with the surface drainage of the streets. Mosaics and paintings are here well but summarily treated, in view of Bulard's work, published and promised. The book was almost ready before the war, which accounts for the regrettable lack of references to Birnbaum's work on Vitruvius. Printing and illustration are excellent, but there are many slips and misprints in the innumerable references to plans and figures. The *Errata* correct some thirty, and I have noticed as many more, apart from the numerous inaccuracies of the Index. Those in the text cause delay, but are seldom baffling to an attentive reader.

In Roussel's short book, the pictures are so small, and the facts so complicated, that little idea can be gathered of the material remains, especially as the only plans are in the almost undecipherable maps. But the main interest lies in the brilliant summary of the social and political history of the island.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

### GREEK ACCENTUATION.

*On Ancient Greek Accentuation.* By J. P. POSTGATE, Litt.D., F.B.A. From the Proceedings of the British Academy. Vol. XI. Pp. 52. London: at the Oxford University Press (Humphrey Milford), 1925. Paper, 5s. net.

IN his *A Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek* (London, 1924), which I

noticed in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XXXIX., p. 195, Professor Postgate adopted the dogmatic style customary in such works. The present pamphlet supplies the reasoning upon which he based his decision of certain difficult points. It appears that in composing the *Guide* he studied the ancient and modern

literature, and carefully weighed the evidence there presented, but that he did not undertake any very laborious investigation of his own. I do not mean to blame him for following the course which almost any scholar would have taken in the circumstances, but rather to explain the fact that the pages here under review do not greatly advance our knowledge of the subject.

Professor Postgate is, of course, not blind to the need of further investigation. One of the most suggestive things in the pamphlet is the plea for an accurate study of the manuscript evidence on Greek accentuation. This is almost a virgin field, which should not be longer neglected. It is the sort of work that can be done a bit at a time by a number of scholars; here are many good topics for doctors' dissertations and small researches by busy teachers.

In general I find myself in agreement with the author's views on the moot points discussed. I am particularly pleased with his rejection (p. 2) of the scepticism of certain scholars about the reliability of our sources; but he should not object (p. 14) to Petersen's statement 'that all our knowledge of accent comes from the Alexandrian grammarians . . . and that we never can be quite sure how old their accentuation is.' The Alexandrians had considerable knowledge of Attic and other dialects and even a valuable tradition of Homeric accent; but we must not expect from them a complete knowledge of any earlier system. There is no reason to suppose, however, that Hellenistic Greek differed from Attic more in accent than other respects which we can more readily control.

About half of the pamphlet (pp. 10-37) is devoted to a discussion of 'Wheeler's law,' whose purport is that oxytone words ending in a dactyl become paroxytone. As to the dactylic nouns in *ῖον*, Professor Postgate thinks that oxytonesis was original; the nominal suffixes *ῖον*, *ῖσκος*, *ῖς*, and *ῖδης* contain, he thinks, an Indo-European accented *ι*, which may

be identified with the demonstrative stem seen in Latin *is*, Sanskrit *idam*, Greek *ἴν*, etc. This etymology is open to insuperable objections, and, even if true, it would not help in the least to explain the peculiarities of Greek accent which it is intended to explain. We cannot separate *ῖον* from the adjective suffix *ῖος*, and the latter admittedly had various accent in the parent speech. So had *ῖσκος*, if we may judge from the names of a Thracian river *Ἀρτισκός*, a Dacian river *Τίβισκος* and a Dacian town *Τίρισκον*. The question is: How did the varying Indo-European accent come to be fixed in the Greek words in *ῖσκος*, and how did Greek get its tendency toward the accentuations *-ῖου* and *ῖου* in the substantives in *ῖον*? Professor Postgate has not provided a satisfactory answer. As to the etymology and accent of the suffix *ῖσκος*, I would refer to Walter Petersen's *The Greek Diminutive Suffix -ῖσκο- -ῖσκη-*, which was published in *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, XVIII. (1913), pp. 141-207 (especially pp. 143-150), one of the few important works to escape Professor Postgate's attention.

In other words to which 'Wheeler's law' has been applied our author thinks either that the paroxytonesis is original or that it is due to a tendency toward retraction of the accent by one mora, whether the word ended in a dactyl or not. No doubt 'Wheeler's law' does not deserve the name, but as far as I can see we must admit a tendency in that direction. If we disagree with Professor Postgate and class as long for purposes of accent the antepenult of such words as *θηλυκτόνος* and *λογογράφος*, the tendency is very striking indeed. As a matter of fact such syllables were probably as long as any in the prehistoric period when the tendency in question was operative. However, I agree with Professor Postgate that we need more light before we can get to the bottom of this matter.

E. H. STURTEVANT.



## ARETAEUS AND GALEN.

- (1) *Areteus*. Edidit CAROLUS HUDE.  
 (2) *Galen* *De sanitate tuenda, De alimentorum facultatibus, De bonis malisque succis, De victu attenuante, De ptisana*. Ediderunt F. KONRADUS KOCH, GEORGIUS HELMREICH, CAROLUS KALBFLEISCH, OTTO HARTLICH. *Areteus*, pp. xxv+183; *Galen*, pp. lxiii+522. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1923.

The money raised for the *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum* was lost during the financial crisis that followed the War, but it is pleasing to note that means are being found to bring out a few of the volumes that were originally planned. Both the works under review are, from the point of view of the textual critic, exhaustive, and subsequent research is left with very little to glean. It is therefore a pity that the paper used is so poor that it can scarcely last many years in a satisfactory condition.

The volume of Galen, carefully edited with every scrap of information necessary for the construction of the text, contains several works dealing with the question of diet in health and in disease. The elaborate care with which the ancient medical writers discussed food-values makes such works as *De sanitate tuenda* of great interest to all scholars, who will find that it throws much light upon many difficult questions of ancient life and thought.

The work of Aretaeus is not so inter-

esting to the general scholar, but it will appeal to every medical man because of its clear and systematic discussion of diseases and their cures. The editor is to be heartily congratulated for his courage in dealing with the difficult points of dialect that present themselves in the history of medical Ionic. Nobody seems to know why Ionic continued to be used down to such a late date—Aretaeus and Galen were almost contemporaries—or what forms medical Ionic did, or did not, admit. It is plain, however, from a critical study of the manuscripts, that the later medical writers, including some of those whose works appear in the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, used constructions which a strict grammarian would regard as barbarous. Hude's preface (pp. viii-xxiii) contains a most illuminating account of these peculiarities. They include  $\eta\nu$  with indicative;  $\eta\nu$  with optative; subjunctive and  $\alpha\nu$  in a potential sense; optative in primary sequence; optative for imperative; optative without  $\alpha\nu$  in a potential sense. I may add that the last is to be frequently found in many works of the Hippocratic *Corpus*, including the earlier ones.

It is to be hoped that the other volumes of this wonderful series will not be long delayed. The need for a satisfactory text of Hippocrates is especially pressing.

W. H. S. JONES.

## SOME TRANSLATIONS.

The *Antigone* of Sophocles, translated by R. C. TREVELYAN. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d. net.

The *Helen* of Euripides, translated by J. T. SHEPPARD. Cambridge: University Press. 2s. net.

*A Few Words on Verse Translation from Latin Poets*, by W. E. HEITLAND. Cambridge: University Press. 2s. 6d. net.

*Catullus*, translated by SIR WILLIAM MARRIS, with the Latin Text. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 5s. net.

*The Loves of Dido and Aeneas*, being the Fourth Book of the *Aeneid*, translated

into English Verse by RICHARD FANSHAWE, edited, with notes, by A. L. IRVINE. Oxford: Blackwell. 6s. net.

The *Aeneid* of Virgil in English Verse, Vol. II., Books IV.-VI., by A. S. WAY. London: Macmillan. 5s. net.

Martial's *Epigrams*, Translations and Imitations, by A. L. FRANCIS and H. F. TATUM. Cambridge: University Press. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. SHEPPARD and Mr. Trevelyan continue their excellent translations of the Greek drama on lines already familiar to many readers and spectators. Mr.

Sheppard favours the extensive use of rhyme in all parts of the play, with a variety of metres in the lyrical portions. Mr. Trevelyan never resorts to rhyme, and seeks to reproduce in the lyrical parts the rhythmical phrasing and pattern of the original Greek. Whether severe 'Attic' plainness can in this way be effectively copied in another language, to what extent one can transfer unfamiliar metres successfully from the Classical tongues to our own, are matters of controversy on which the last word will never be said; but Mr. Trevelyan's experiment was well worth making, if only to convince some Greekless readers that a chorus from the *Antigone* is different from the facile numbers of a comic opera. One is conscious throughout that Mr. Trevelyan's work is a translation; Mr. Sheppard is smoother, more natural, rather more vigorous. On p. 25 of the *Helen* the following lines seem unfortunate:

Fly, fly, for fear—

For fear—it makes no difference—far or near,  
She knows that you are here! Oh dear! oh dear!

Surely there is nothing in the Greek or the situation to warrant all this jingle.

The *opuscule* from Mr. Heitland's pen deals very admirably with some aspects of verse translation. How far, for example, Conington was justified in following the Scott model in his rendering of the *Aeneid*; how necessary are affinity and sympathy between author and translator; why Dryden's rhymed couplet is the natural vehicle for the rapid, antithetical style of much of the *Pharsalia*, but entirely unsuitable for Lucretius. Mr. Heitland adds greatly to his readers' debt by his own translations from Lucan (in rhymed couplets), and (in blank verse) of the noble passage in which Lucretius rises to the height of his message. There is no more suggestive discussion of the theory of verse translation—brief though it be—and there are no more inspiring or instructive models for the student than are to be found in this slight but far from negligible volume.

Sir William Marris's translation of Catullus is scholarly, straightforward,

forcible. One may apply to it Mr. Heitland's words regarding a certain version of Horace: 'If it loses by not smacking of the Professor, it surely gains by sympathy and ease.' In Catullus the *manus extrema* counts much; and there is something a little rough, owing doubtless to the exigencies of the rhyme, in such expressions as

Death's sombre wings,  
That swallow up all pretty things  
(III. 13-14).

Dear Sabine or Tiburtine clods  
(XLIV. 1).

a drumming hymn  
Beats in my ears  
(LI. 10-11).

Still, the book will take a worthy place among verse translations.

Sir Richard Fanshawe, Milton's successor as Latin Secretary, in 1648 published a translation in the Spenserian stanza of the Fourth Book of the *Aeneid*, of which Mr. Irvine presents an edition (among Blackwell's series of Virgilian Studies) with most sensible notes. It would certainly be a pity if so commendable a work as Fanshawe's should be unknown to the modern student.

The other Virgil volume is by Dr. Way, who indefatigably, irresistibly pursues his course through the Greek and Latin Classics, our official and authorised translator. No one can be blind to the merits of Dr. Way's work, its closeness to the original, its high standard of scholarship and poetic quality. In this rendering of *Aeneid* IV.-VI. there is one distressing blemish, surely due to some fatality in the proof-reading:

Let thou and I o'er her people in unison reign  
(IV. 102).

And the metre is very heavy: 'six-foot anapaest with the usual allowance of iambic substitution and of anacrustic beginning'—the metre with which Tennyson's *Maud* opens. It can give us long lines like VI. 281,

Whose locks, which are crawling adders, with  
blood-dripping bands are uptied,

and such short difficult lines as VI. 293,  
Are but unsubstantial disembodied existences.

'Oh for an hour of Calverley!' is the exclamation that will rise to many a

lip. Is it sheer perversity that makes  
Dr. Way translate the rapid

Idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque  
ruuntque (IV. 581)

by a slow line—

With fiery energy one and all ply foot and hand,  
and

Adnixa torquent spumas, et caerula uerrunt  
(IV. 583)

by

They are sweeping the blue waves, whirling the  
spray, as they strain with their might—?

Were the vessels in question racing  
eight-oar boats? and is Virgil's 'auditory  
imagination' not to be trusted?

Last of all comes Martial, from whom  
Messrs. Francis and Tatum here offer

a selection of translations and imitations which merits great praise.

Bad wife, bad husband, like as pea to pea,  
I really wonder that you can't agree.

Could there be any better rendering than this of VIII. 35? And there is very deft handling of proper names, e.g. in I. 61. The text is old-fashioned, being (with the numbering) that of Paley. The translators add sporadic notes and headings where Martial's meaning is not obvious. At times one would welcome more of such aid, or a slightly longer but clearer translation, for an epigram's prosperity rests on the immediate impression.

R. G. NISBET.

### THE WARBURG LIBRARY.

*Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge*, 1921-1922. Pp. 185, with 11 Plates. *Vorträge*, 1922-1923, I. Teil. Pp. 239, with 16 Plates. 8vo. Both edited by FRITZ SAXL. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923, 1924.

*Studien der Bibliothek Warburg: Die Begriffsform im Mythischen Denken*. By ERNST CASSIRER. 8vo. Pp. 62. Leipzig: Teubner, 1922. *Dürers 'Melencolia I.': eine Quellen- und Typen-geschichtliche Untersuchung*. By ERWIN PANOFSKY and FRITZ SAXL. Large 8vo. Pp. xv+160, with 45 Plates. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. *'Idea': ein Beitrag zur Begriffsgeschichte der Aelteren Kunsttheorie*. By ERWIN PANOFSKY. Large 8vo. Pp. 145, with illustrations. Leipzig: Teubner, 1924. *Sprache und Mythos: ein Beitrag zum Problem der Götternamen*. By ERNST CASSIRER. Large 8vo. Pp. 87. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925.

THE aim of the Warburg Library and of its lectures and publications is to provide material for the study of the continuous life of classical motives and ideas in the civilisations which have flourished later on the shores of the Mediterranean, and this especially in the spheres of fine art and religion. In these volumes we have some of the

chief fruits of the institution during the few years of its existence: charmingly illustrated volumes and yet not expensive, containing series of lectures, mostly on the history of art, and special studies of which the most elaborate is the history of the notion of 'melancholy' and its representation in art which bears the name of Dürer's well-known plate as title. In the nature of the case the Warburg publications are likely to interest a variety of specialists who do not commonly find themselves side by side, and who certainly do not meet in the pages of the C.R. Thus the *Melencolia* study contains text and translation of a long passage in Aristotle's *Problems*. Among the lectures, classical students might be glad to have their attention called to the following—'Eidos und Eidolon,' a general statement of Plato's attitude to art (Cassirer), 'Augustin als antiker und als mittelalterlicher Mensch' (Reitzenstein). Panofsky's *Idea*, intended as a sequel to Cassirer's lecture above mentioned, gives a clear and interesting account of the variations through the centuries in the use (and abuse) of this Platonic term in connexion with fine art. The care with which the volumes have been produced and the illustrations selected deserves the highest praise.

J. L. STOCKS.

## THE ANNALS OF ENNIUS.

*The Annals of Ennius.* Edited by ETHEL MARY STEUART. One vol. Pp. 246. London: Cambridge University Press, 1925. 7s. 6d. net.

THIS edition is the first attempt in English to present, with complete critical and explanatory notes, the whole of the extant genuine or attributed fragments of the *Annals of Ennius*. It may be said at the outset that a very difficult task has been admirably performed. The fragments are arranged in the order of the books of the *Annals*, and their particular position in each book, to which they appear, either on authority or on grounds of probable conjecture, to belong: the allocation of many fragments is, of course, uncertain, but wherever Miss Steuart differs from a generally accepted view, she supports her conclusion by evidence and argument. The critical notes, which consist of full quotation of the source of each fragment, with MS. and other variants, are very sensibly printed, in smaller type, in the body of the text, attached to the fragment to which they refer. Some of the MS. variants might have been omitted with advantage: e.g. Bk. VIII. fr. 2 is quoted by Gellius, twice by Cicero, once by Lactantius, so that no useful purpose seems to be served by recording that for 'amatur' in l. 3 one MS. of Gellius has 'amit': again at Bk. VII. fr. 20 Servius is quoted (*ad Geo.* II. 449), 'longique cupressi stant rectis folii set amaro corpore buxum'; the critical note has 'rectis' (Ursinus), 'amaro' (Ursinus), of which the latter simply bewilders the reader.

Of fragments of doubtful interpretation the most interesting is the passage, quoted by Cicero in the *Brutus*, in which Ennius gives his reason for not describing the First Punic War:

scripsere alii rem  
versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant,  
quom neque Musarum scopulos quisquam su-  
perarat  
nec dicti studiosus erat.

So our texts of Cicero give it, but 'superarat' appears to be of doubtful authenticity. If the reading is correct, the interpretation is clear, 'when as yet

no one had climbed the peaks of the Muses.' Miss Steuart is not satisfied with this: she quarrels with the interpretation of 'scopulos,' which, she says, may describe part of a hill, but cannot mean the whole of it. She interprets 'scopulos' as 'rocks' in the sense of 'difficulties' or 'dangers,' dissociating it from 'Musarum,' which she says must depend on some lost word (e.g. 'auxilio'), and rejecting 'superarat.' L. and S., oddly enough, quote 'Musarum scopulos' from this passage to illustrate the meaning 'difficulties,' but the interpretation 'poetical difficulties' is one which will recommend itself to few; in any case 'scopuli' of the kind that led to the metaphor are not got over by 'climbing' but by steering. But in view of Ovid's 'Mavortis scopulus' for the Areopagus, and the fact that Parnassus had two conspicuous peaks, it does not appear at all impossible to interpret 'Musarum scopulos' as 'the Mountain of the Muses': Cicero's quotation gives 'Musarum scopulos,' with no place in the line for a missing word for 'Musarum' to depend on.

This same fragment is made the text for a long and closely reasoned excursus (No. II., p. 163) on the existence at Rome of a school of native ballad poetry. Beginning with Charisius' (fourth century A.D.) explanation of the name 'Saturnius'—'quod Saturno defuncto apotheosis eius hac dictione sit celebrata, cuius exemplum adhuc in linteis libris reperitur,' quoting Dionysius' remark about Coriolanus, ἄδεται καὶ ὑμεῖται, and Festus' reference to Regulus—'inter quos M. Atilius bello quod gestum est contra Poenos, ut scriptum est in carmine Saturnio,' and again Dionysius—ὡς ἐν τοῖς πατρίοις ὕμνοις ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἐστὶ καὶ νῦν ἄδεται (of the divine birth of Romulus), Miss Steuart draws the inference that Livius' choice of the Saturnian metre for his *Odyssey*, and Naevius' similar choice for his *Bellum Punicum*, point to the existence of a long and continuous tradition of the use of the Saturnian for ballad and quasi-epic poetry, in which Livius and Naevius are not pioneers but the culmination of a long

development. Further support for the argument is drawn from Varro's reference to *Carmen Priami*, Festus' and Charisius' reference to and quotations from *Carmen Nelei* (the attempt to prove these last quotations to be Saturnian in metre is not quite convincing), and Servius' statement (on *Aen.* II. 486) that the whole passage of Virgil is taken from *Albanum excidium*, which is not Servius' usual method of referring to a passage in Ennius, and it looks as if *Albanum excidium* were the title of a separate poem. The

excursus is a very able attempt to restate the famous theory of Niebuhr, which has for so long been discredited.

The book has no introduction: page 1 plunges us 'in medias res' with the first fragment: a second edition of so excellent a book would be improved with a short literary or historical introduction, and (a point of detail) with a tabulated list of abbreviations used in the critical notes—Serv. (D), Gell. Z., Expl. in Don. 565 K are a little daunting to the average reader.

H. WILLIAMSON.

### MR. OWEN'S *TRISTIA*.

*P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Liber Secundus*. Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary. By S. G. OWEN, M.A., Student and Tutor of Christ Church, Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1924.

IN this excellent volume the Introduction is not the least excellent part. It deals with the causes of Ovid's banishment, the arrangement of Ovid's apology, the poet's attempt at an epic, the manuscripts, editions, and translations of the *Tristia*. The first chapter will naturally claim most attention, for the mystery surrounding Ovid's banishment to-day, as in the past, fascinates scholars. Mr. Owen gives in full all the passages which can throw any light on the nature of the poet's error. He discusses fully some of the most recent theories, and is himself inclined to the conclusion that Ovid's ruin was due to political rather than amatory intrigue, and that Tiberius and Livia were mainly responsible: but 'Ovid did not intend his secret to be revealed and unrevealed it must remain.' He draws attention to the ruthlessness and brutality of Augustus when his will was crossed, and our sympathy for the poet is roused still more by Dr. Gilbert Murray's fine appreciation of Ovid's unworldliness. Mr. Owen gives an interesting analysis of the argument of Ovid's defence, showing its forensic inspiration, but he points out the weakness of Ovid's pleas. As regards Ovid's unfinished *Gigantomachia*, Mr. Owen holds that the work was inter-

rupted by an express injunction of Augustus. These fine essays are a stimulating preliminary to the perusal of the poem itself.

The translation is spirited and graceful, as well as exact. On a couple of passages one may disagree with the translator. Lines 327 f.: 'tenuis mihi campus aratur: illud erat magnae fertilitatis opus' are rendered by 'I plough a field of meagre soil: the other was a labour of extensive contents.' Mr. Owen holds that 'fertilitas' does not, for Ovid, signify fertility of invention. The ordinary version 'yours is a theme which demands rich powers of poetry' seems justified by *P. IV.* 2. 11: 'fertile pectus habes, interque Heliconae colentes uberius nulli provenit ista seges.' In 526 'and the foreign mother shows murder written in her eyes' appears to force the Latin: 'inque oculis facinus barbara mater habet.'

As regards the text Mr. Owen shows his usual conservatism. He sees no established trace of interpolated lines; Dr. Ehwald has bracketed no less than twelve lines in *Tristia* II. The departures from the Oxford edition of 1914 are as follows: 9 vitium quoque carmine *Baehrens* 166 hic *Bodl. Auct. F.* 1. 18, *vett. edd.* 175 tui es *Némethy* 281 multi quam *L.* 357 voluptas *V. dett.* 376 viris *codd. meliores* 472 erat § 542 praeterii totiens inrequietus *FLW.* Of these 472 'erat,' and possibly 166 'hic' are changes for the better, but one feels doubtful about the rest. Is there anything in Ovid like 'carmine' for 'dempto carmine'?

In spite of the cacophony, Mr. Owen's own suggestion 'cum carmine' is more pleasing. It is hard to understand how one so versed in Ovidian metric as the editor could have given his blessing to 'tui es' (175). The best tradition is: 'dimidioque tui praesens et respicis urbem, dimidio procul es bellaque saeva geris.' Heinsius began the series of assaults to which 175 has been subjected, though before him 'es et aspicias' was concocted by some medieval corrector. Dr. Ehwald marks the distich as an interpolation. The rock of offence is the *et*. Is it presumptuous to suggest that this *et* is analogous to the 'et' in 'Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna,' or, to take an example from Ovid, who has several, 'Arsit et Euphrates Babylonius, arsit Orontes' (*M.* 2. 248)? Surely the anaphora renders the correlative 'et' unnecessary? In his note on 281 Mr. Owen decides that 'ludi' cannot be used for 'munera' and renounces *multis*. But 'multi' is too indefinite in itself and makes 'saepe' otiose (Mr. Owen omits this word in his translation). Does not the flaw lie in 'dederunt,' and did not Ovid write 'multis quam saepe dedisti'? Ovid is similarly outspoken below, 511: 'haec tu spectasti spectandaque saepe dedisti.' Heinsius proposed 'quam munera saepe dedisti.' On 357, Minucius Felix (12. 5) is quoted in support of 'honesta voluptas,' and the passage is rendered: 'Also the book is not evidence of my character, but is a harmless diversion: you will find in it many things suited to amuse the reader.' Even thus emended and translated, line 357 seems only a feeble iteration of 353 ff. On 376 the editor reminds us that it is a mannerism of Ovid to repeat in juxtaposition the same word in a different sense. He holds that Ovid here is contrasting 'vir' 'the husband' with 'viris' 'men.' But such a contrast seems flat; it would be absurd to conceive Penelope as courted by any other creatures than men. If Ovid did write 'viris,' in this context and in its emphatic position it must mean 'heroes,' and the suitors were hardly heroes over against Ulysses. Assimilation is a very common phenomenon in MSS., and the vulgate 'procis' will still find supporters. The defence of 'inre-

quietus eques' is ingenious and gallant. A knight whom Augustus wished to degrade would be halted at the 'transvectio.' A knight who escaped this stoppage might be styled 'inquietus,' and the passage can be rendered: 'I often passed before your tribunal of transgressions, a knight without reproach.'

Turning to a few of the vexed passages, one will find certain weakness in the case for the defence. In 79 f. 'carmina ne nostris quae te venerantia libris iudicio possint candidiore legi' the construction is explained as being 'ne quae carmina,' etc. The tmesis is illustrated by Cic. *Att.* X. 12. 3 'ne quando quid emanet,' Ovid *M.* XII. 497 'inque ligatus,' XIII. 713 'praeter erant vecti.' Even if these illustrations supported the anomaly in the present line, one cannot help asking what exigency, metrical or otherwise, drove Ovid to make this arrangement when at least two unexceptionable alternatives were open to him. It is as much a mystery as the cause of his banishment. Gronovius suggested 'quoque' for 'quae,' and this change adds to the force of Ovid's plea. The lines 91 f. are translated: 'And if this brings me no advantage, and my repute for probity is irrevocably lost, still I have incurred no reproach.' Mr. Owen points out that one would expect a dative with 'redditur,' and suggests 'honestis' ('good acts'). The genitive, however, seems characteristic, cp. *A.A.* II. 390: 'gloria peccati nulla petenda sui.' In any case 'et honesti gloria nulla (? nulli) redditur' should be punctuated and translated as a parenthetical 'sententia.' Ovid loves these moral asides, often introduced by 'et,' and 'Virtue is its own reward' appears several times (see *T. V.* 14. 31, *P. II.* 3. 11 ff.). In 495 'nec' is explained as equivalent to 'ne quidem' and the translation runs: 'Indeed not even one do I see of these many writers that has been ruined by his verse; save me I find no other.' Mr. Owen has forgotten to mention *L*'s 'unus' which one feels is right and which is implicit in his version.

The commentary is constructed on the most generous lines. It would be impossible to do justice to it in this

short review. Mr. Owen has provided what amounts to a reference library for Ovid. Every fact which might bear directly or indirectly on any possible point in the text is given in the greatest detail. Some of these notes might, perhaps, appear better in the form of appendices, or as introductory essays—a field in which Mr. Owen excels. There is occasionally an overlapping, and repetition as in the citations on 312 and 504. And sometimes space is given to considering views which the editor must know at first sight to be valueless. He

seems to suffer the eccentricities of scholars, if not gladly, at least with exemplary courtesy. He is especially patient with Mr. Hilberg. We hardly require that scholar's 'Law G' to be convinced that Ovid wrote 'quae fuerat saevi' (144) and not 'saevi quae fuerat' nor 'quae saevi fuerat': nor is 'Law K' necessary to show us that 'callida' does not qualify 'verba' in line 500.

As far as the reviewer was able to see, there are very few slips in the vast sea of references; none that he did detect were of an important character.

E. H. ALTON.

### ROMAN TRADE-ROUTES AND COMMERCE.

*Trade-Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire.* By M. P. CHARLESWORTH. Pp.viii + 288. Cambridge: University Press, 1924. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.

THERE are perhaps now living six scholars who, after a lifetime's study, could carry out with reasonable completeness the task which Mr. Charlesworth has undertaken in this volume. At every turn the writer must face the criticism of the specialists, each of whom, while admitting that parts of the book are excellent, will bitterly complain of the sketchy and inaccurate treatment of the part of the subject in which he is immersed. Much of the material is archaeological, knowledge of which can in many points be obtained only by actually seeing and handling the objects concerned, and in some cases cannot be communicated at all by the discoverer. It might almost seem that such a subject, though of great interest in itself and consonant with modern interests and enquiries, can never obtain adequate treatment. But fortunately a work need not be complete to be useful, and rather than regret that we are not provided with what in the circumstances we have no right to expect, we may well express our gratitude for what we have received.

Mr. Charlesworth lays before us the results of careful and well-chosen, though not specialised, studies in various aspects of Roman commerce.

After a brief introductory sketch of Italy and the founding of the Empire, he devotes single chapters to Egypt,

Syria, the sea-route to India, Asia Minor, the land-route to China and India, Greece, Africa, the Northern Frontiers, Gaul, and Britain.

In a work based on such varied and scattered material errors of fact or of inference are bound to intrude. Few perhaps would agree with the eulogy of Augustus' Eastern policy (p. 11 f.): it is hardly correct to say that the three legions which Augustus left in Egypt (as many as were in Syria or Macedonia for much of his reign) were no strong force (p. 17); that a legion was withdrawn thence by Tiberius (p. 246); that the African legion was stationed at Timgad (p. 136); that there were few imperial estates in Asia Minor until the second century; that Hofheim was occupied c. A.D. 100 (p. 281); that the marble of Synnada was white. That undue optimism is shown in treating Britain more briefly than the other provinces 'because more information on the subject is readily available' is clear from the fact that at least part of what he says is based on sources out-of-date or inadequate. In reality the character of the material regarding Britain makes judgment and caution more necessary than in almost any branch of his subject.

In general, however, the points open to criticism seem to me, in view of the scope of his treatment, neither numerous nor important. Mr. Charlesworth succeeds in giving in the several chapters clear and, within their limits, well-balanced pictures of the development of ways of communication by land and water in the

different regions, the chief products and their distribution over the Empire, and the part played by the Imperial Government in organising and controlling the various activities connected with them.

Such pictures cannot fail to be useful alike to the specialist and the general student. It is, for example, a great boon to one whose interests turn rather to the western half of the Empire to have conveniently set out in a single volume coherent accounts of the land and sea routes to the Far East, of the trade relations with the Persian Gulf and the coastal districts of Arabia and East Africa, and of the products and routes of Asia Minor, the materials for

all of which are so scattered or so inaccessible that he would naturally shrink from the labour of pursuing them. In the mind of the general student they should do something to implant that most important but difficult conviction that the population of the Roman Empire consisted of real human beings with material needs and methods of satisfying them not unlike those of their descendants after fifty generations.

Mr. Charlesworth's achievement in the present volume prompts the wish that he may expand the material of each of his eleven chapters into a volume, and that we may live to read them.

D. ATKINSON.

### THE FOUNDING OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

*The Founding of the Roman Empire.* F. B. MARSH, Ph.D. Pp. 329. University of Texas Studies. University of Texas Press, 1922.

MR. MARSH undertakes in the space of 300 pages to sketch the events, and from them to infer the causes, which led to the collapse of the Republican government and the foundation of the Principate. Plainly in both tasks a rigorous selection of material is necessary, and to discuss in detail any aspect of the problems involved must lead to a loss of proportion. In general, Mr. Marsh has been successful in avoiding such pitfalls, the points which he emphasises are for the most part those of the greatest importance—the predominance of the military factor produced by the army reforms of Marius, the consequent struggle for the extended provincial commands which gave control of military force, and the powerlessness of the central government against the wielders of it. He lays proper stress on the importance of the career of Pompey, and follows Meyer in showing how it was this, rather than the position which Caesar was in course of providing for himself, which provided for the model for the organisation set up by Augustus. The book consists of nine chapters, of which the first two sketch the development of the government of the Empire during the second and early first centuries B.C. and of the

military system in the same period, the next five the course of events from the rise of Pompey to the final triumph of Octavian, the last two the organisation of the Principate. The five middle chapters give an adequate, well-balanced, and pleasantly written account of the period they cover, based on a good knowledge of recent research, and the discussion of the political aims of Antony and Cleopatra, which reduces to its proper insignificance the anecdotal tradition which dominated the narrative of historians of the last century, is worthy of special commendation.

The first two and the last two chapters are less satisfactory. In both sections Mr. Marsh has developed an ingenious theory based on detailed genealogical studies. The curious vacillation in foreign policy during the second century B.C. is explained by a calculation of the number of curule families available for office; the discovery about 150 B.C. of the possibilities of the pro-magistracy permitted the outburst of provincial expansion during the next thirty years. This expansion exhausted the new resources and there was a return to the old conservative policy. These considerations no doubt had weight, but in the space at Mr. Marsh's disposal it is impossible to put them in their proper proportion, with the result that the influence of the rise of the capitalist class is almost



wholly omitted. Similarly on the presence or absence of members of aristocratic and 'new' families in the 'fasti' under Augustus is chiefly based the discussion of Augustus' general policy at different times in his Principate. Here again the point is original and ingenious, and the appendices in which the 'fasti' are analysed contain most useful

matter; but the students for whom the book is presumably intended would need to be warned that other considerations of at least equal importance receive little or no attention. But with these cautions the book may be safely recommended as a useful and reliable guide to what is after all the most important of all periods of ancient history.

D. ATKINSON.

### THE PRINCEPS' JURISDICTION IN ROME.

*The Rise of the Princeps' Jurisdiction within the City of Rome.* BY DONALD MCFAYDEN. Reprinted from Washington University Studies, Vol. X., Humanistic Series, No. 2, Pp. 181 + 264. 1923.

PROFESSOR MCFAYDEN'S work is the third of his studies in the constitutional development of the Principate.<sup>1</sup> All three represent a reaction against the formalist views developed by Mommsen and his school, who attempt to show that by offices and powers legally conferred upon them Augustus and his successors possessed a supreme constitutional authority over all departments of the government. In Professor McFayden's opinion not only were such powers not conferred on them by definite enactments either of Senate or Assembly, but in many cases were not even exercised *de facto* by the earliest Principes. Thus he denies that Augustus was granted *maius imperium* over the senatorial proconsuls, or that the *proconsulare imperium* was extended to cover the city of Rome. In the present work he deals with the view of Mommsen that Augustus introduced two radical innovations into Roman judicial procedure in setting up two supreme jurisdictions, that of the Consuls and Senate on the one hand, that on the Princeps on the other. He fails to find any undoubted case of the exercise of such jurisdiction by Augustus or Tiberius, or

any constitutional basis on which it could rest, and maintains that the hearing of cases by the Senate did not, strictly speaking, transform it into a court of justice. As under the Republic—*e.g.* in the case of the Catilinarians—it dealt with an accused person not as a law breaker but as a public menace.

The character of the Roman constitution, full as it was of legal fictions and customary rights, makes the solution of such problems extremely difficult. It is probable that Mommsen and his school have, through a desire for lucidity, carried formalism too far; but it is doubtful whether Mr. McFayden succeeds in proving his case, which can only be done by throwing over the testimony of Dio, Suetonius, and Tacitus in some details and giving their words a non-natural interpretation in others.

But if the main thesis does not win complete acceptance, the work is none the less of considerable value. It contains a brief but clear and adequate account of the growth of Republican judicial procedure, civil and criminal, and an excellent sketch of the scope and character of the *Leges Iuliae iudicariae* substantiated by requisite references, which students of the early Principate will be very glad to have in English.

The type-setting perhaps hardly reaches a standard worthy of a University publication. Palmary emendations of *coercito* (p. 193), *Vuaestro* (note 131), *exceptionably* (p. 199), are not hard to make, but Vorhesi = Borghesi (note 250) might perhaps cause a little difficulty.

D. ATKINSON.

<sup>1</sup> The earlier ones are—*The History of the Title Emperor* (Chicago, 1920), and *The Princeps and the Senatorial Provinces* (*Classical Philology*, Vol. XVI., 1921).

## ROMAN CIVIL PROCEDURE.

*Institutionen des Römischen Zivilprozessrechts.* By L. WENGER. Pp. xi + 356.

Munich: Max Hueber, 1925. 10 Marks.

THE last half of the nineteenth century produced no new treatise on Roman civil procedure (though Keller's wonderful little book was re-edited with important revision by Wach); but so much work has been done on the fundamental notions of the *formula* (e.g. by Wlassak, to whom the present work is dedicated), and the papyri have thrown so much light on the later procedure, that the time seems ripe for a restatement of the whole matter embodying the results as yet obtained. Several such works have recently appeared: the latest is the work before us by a very distinguished Munich Romanist, who has himself largely contributed to the knowledge he is now stating. The book covers the whole ground—*legis actio*, *formula*, and *cognitio*—but most space is given to the *formula*. And, indeed, historically important as the *cognitio* is, as the stepping-stone to later procedure, most readers will agree that the *formula* has more intrinsic interest. But, in relation to the other systems, nothing important is omitted.

Such a book must contain much that is not new, but it is far from a mere statement of accepted doctrine. All that a brief review can do is to indicate some noteworthy conclusions of the author.

*Iudicium*, says the author (pp. 21, 181) following Wlassak, means many things, but not 'hearing before the *iudex*,' for which the usual expression is *apud iudicem*. The last proposition is fully proved, and in view of the ambiguity of the word *iudicium* is not surprising. But does this word never mean the actual hearing? What else can it mean in Cicero, *Part. Or.* 28. 99, where the discussion *in iure* is *ante iudicium*, the transfer to the *iudex* is *in iudicium venire*, and the discussions before the *iudex* are *in iudicio*?

The author takes the view that the duplex procedure as we know it is not primitive, that the *rex* was judge. It is a difficult question, but evolution from a system under which the State assumes the responsibility of judging private

disputes to one in which it does hardly more than 'keep the ring' is not *a priori* easy to accept.

Pp. 28-75 give an illuminating account of jurisdiction, the proper forum, etc. We are told that in the *cognitio* system the hearing was always open to the public. But the evidence is consistent with a growing tendency to trial in private. C. 11. 6. 5. *pr.* deals with a special type of case, and the natural inference is that there was no such general rule. Bethmann-Hollweg's texts (*Civilprozess*, 3, 189) seem conclusive for Justinian.

On p. 92 is a very interesting note on *vindex* as a substitute for immediate obedience to *in ius vocatio*, and on p. 102 there is a very informing analysis of the courses open to the defendant in a *legis actio*. The author holds, with others, that *confessio in iure* in a real action was followed by *addictio*. The inference from *cessio in iure* is hardly conclusive.

On p. 144 the author takes the view that *praescriptio pro reo* did not, if proved, operate like an *exceptio*: the right of action was not consumed. On p. 148 he reiterates his view that even in classical law an *exceptio* might have the effect of reducing the *condemnatio*.

On pp. 190 ff. the author discusses the circumstances in which an oath was possible *apud iudicem*, and its effects. He concludes that the *iudex privatus* had no power to administer an oath to a party or to vary the amount sworn to in the *iusiurandum in litem* in an action with the *arbitrium* clause.

On pp. 207 ff. there is an excellent but too brief discussion of the negative effects of judgment (exclusion of further action) and the positive (establishment of the fact as between the parties), and of the extent to which a judgment could affect persons not actual parties.

On p. 223 the view is expressed that it was usual for a successful claimant, if the judgment was not satisfied, to proceed both by *bonorum venditio* and by personal seizure.

P. 237 provides an interesting consideration of the essential nature of interdicts and their difference from the ordinary judicial process.

On p. 251 the author lays it down that in the transitional period, in which the case was still tried by *formula*, but before a *iudex datus*, the statement of the issue still has the character, lost in the later system, of a procedural contract between the parties.

On p. 272 it is maintained that the procedure *in contumaciam* was available against the plaintiff as well as against the defendant. On p. 274 the effect of *confessio* in the *cognitio* is considered and the view reached that at least *confessio certi*, or in *vindicatio*, dispensed with need of judgment—a matter which the state of the texts makes very puzzling.

That in classical law the *actio iudicati*, even where it proceeded to a *iudicium*, might in some cases lead to a *condemnatio*

only *in simplum* (p. 220), and that the *actio iudicati* was still needed as a preliminary to execution in Justinian's law (p. 301), are theses for the demonstration of which the author refers to his earlier *Actio Iudicati*.

On pp. 307 *sqq.* is a discussion of the obscure procedure by rescript, and on p. 333 an account, which might well have been longer, of the rather neglected ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

Not all Professor Wenger's conclusions will be universally accepted: indeed, many of them have been and are the subject of acute controversy. But the book is to be warmly recommended, both to teachers and to their pupils, as a model exposition of a difficult and important subject.

W. W. BUCKLAND.

### CHARISIUS.

*Flavii Sosipatri Charisii Artis Grammaticae Libri V.* Edidit CAROLUS BARWICK. Pp. xxvi+539. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. 12 gold marks (14 gold marks, bound).

THERE is ample justification for a new edition of Charisius. Keil's edition appeared as long ago as 1857 (*Grammatici Latini*, Vol. I.), and Barwick finds reason to disagree with his classification of MSS. Further, he has recollected the chief MS., Naples IV. A 8 (written about A.D. 700 in Irish pointed script, perhaps in Bobbio), and has discovered a considerable number of errors in Keil's reports. He finds that Naples IV. A 9 is a copy of this older MS., and that the *editio princeps* derives from this copy. He has also used two authorities unknown to Keil—namely, some ninth-century Reichenau fragments at Karlsruhe, and some fragments of Book III., perhaps from the Corvey library, which turned up at the eleventh hour. Again, he attaches great importance to the relics of the lost MS. employed by Cauchius, which supplies some *lacunae* in N. This edition is thus the first to contain the whole of Charisius.

Charisius is one of the most important of the Latin grammarians, much of this importance being derived from the quotations he makes from old and

classical writers. It is curious that Lucan is quoted only once, and that the passage cannot be identified. There is no reference to either of the Senecas. It is true that post-Augustan writers receive little attention, with the exception of the Elder Pliny. It may be mentioned, though Barwick has not, I think, found occasion to refer to the matter, that the name of Charisius never found a place in Jerome's *Chronicle*. Dr. Fotheringham's recent edition of the *Chronicle* shows that the MS. authority is overwhelming for 'Chrestus.' There is other evidence, however, which shows Charisius to have flourished in the fourth century.

On page iv, note 1, correct 'M. W. Lindsay' to 'W. M. Lindsay': it is premature and hazardous to assign an Irish origin to a number of the peculiar spellings of N (p. xxiii), and there are two forms that Barwick does not appear to understand—namely, *diffinitione* and *synlempsis*. The first of these is not a mere case of *di* for *de*, and a reduplication of a consonant, but a really different view of the origin of the word, taking it from *dis* rather than *de*. The second is not a substitution of *m* for *p*, but an euphonic spelling of *synlempsis*, which is a transliteration of the late Greek form *σύνλημψις* (see Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek*,

Vol. I., Cambridge, 1909, pp. 108 ff.; Winer-Schmiedel, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 64; Moulton-Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, London, 1920, p. 369). On the same page, for 'G. Hellmann,' read 'S. Hellmann.' It is strange to see (p. xxvi) Nonius quoted from Mercier and Pauli Festus

from Müller, though Lindsay's better editions have appeared in the same *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* as the present work. There is a misprint in the heading of p. 450, and I cannot understand on what principle the superior spelling of the Naples MS. *Heliopolis* is deserted for *Heliopolis* (p. 45, line 15). The edition deserves a hearty welcome.

A. SOUTER.

### CLASSICAL QUOTATIONS IN MEDIEVAL GLOSSARIES.

*Quotations from Classical Authors in Medieval Latin Glossaries.* Collected and annotated by JAMES FREDERICK MOUNTFORD. Pp. 132. (Cornell Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XXI.) New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925. \$1.50.

CONTRIBUTIONS to the *Classical Quarterly*, *Bulletin Ducange* and other periodicals have shown Professor Mountford to be one of the most active investigators in the field of Latin glossology. The present work has grown out of his collaboration with Professor Lindsay and others in the preparation of an edition of the *Liber Glossarum*, which ought shortly to see the light. His purpose, to use his own words, is (a) 'to collect in a convenient form the more important citations from classical authors preserved in medieval Latin glossaries; (b) to demonstrate as far as is possible the value and source of these interesting items; (c) to illustrate in a selected group of items the relations between the MSS. of the *Liber Glossarum* rather more fully than was possible in the edition of the whole work.'

The items which are traced to their sources in this work are those presumably taken from copies of the authors cited, or from ancient grammatical works, and not those taken at second hand from a source like Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Such items not only shed light on the school education of medieval times, but also give occasional help in classifying MSS. of classical authors and restoring the text of these authors. The task of investigation is, therefore, one of real interest and importance.

An introduction as lucid as it is

valuable explains the present state of knowledge on the complicated questions involved in the study of such glossaries as 'Abstrusa,' and must not be neglected by any student of Latin glossaries. The contention that most of the quotations from other authors come from Virgil scholia may be regarded as proved. The possibility remains open that some Lucan and Statius quotations come from Lucan scholia and Statius scholia respectively. In this connexion it might be mentioned that our oldest extant Lucan MS. belonged to Echternach, and our oldest extant MS. of Statius' *Thebais* to Corbie—facts which suggest that these authors were accessible in Northern France in the eighth century, in copies no longer extant.

The items are discussed with admirable learning. One is surprised to find the spelling 'Ptolemaei' (No. 93) for the usual Latin spelling 'Ptolomaei': is this a slip of the editor? Can No. 95 have any connexion with Hor. *Sat.* I. 5, 48-9? At No. 109 add the appropriate reference to Lindsay's *Notae Latinae* for the rare contraction 'uera.' At No. 112 the MS. tradition shows that 'cluacam' should have been put in the text; this spelling is given, for example, by the best MSS. of Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20, 10 (p. 548, l. 6, ed. Zycha). As regards the reference to Charisius (No. 124), it might be mentioned that Charisius does not actually assign the words to Sallust. Under several of the Statius items the variant 'stant' is widely found in glossarial MSS.: this fact suggests that in the archetype the contracted forms of authors had a horizontal line above

them, thus—'STAT.<sup>1</sup> It is also notable that all the Statius *Thebais* items come from the ninth and later books. At No. 187, I should take 'istic' in the late sense (= 'hic'), meaning no doubt, as Dr. Mountford suggests, some country other than Italy (France? Spain?). On

<sup>1</sup> As in the compilations of Zmaragdus and Sedulius Scottus, two ninth-century writers.

No. 249 the use of the misleading term 'Itale' is to be deprecated: substitute 'Old-Latin,' 'Pre-Vulgate,' or 'Non-Vulgate.'

A word of praise is due to the accuracy and beauty of the printing (a misprint on p. 23), as well as to the superior paper.

A. SOUTER.

*L' 'Inverno' Esiodo e le Opere e i Giorni.*  
ERNESTO DE FRANCO. Pp. 39. Catania:  
V. Muglia. 4 L.

THIS is one of those brochures with which Italian scholars, by picturesque if somewhat inconvenient custom, salute the weddings of their friends. It contains a translation of *W. D.* 493-560, some sensible criticisms of Evelyn-White's dismemberment of that passage (*C. R.* XXX., p. 209 ff.), and an enthusiastic defence of the whole as characteristically Hesiodic.

A. S. F. GOW.

*Platon. Oeuvres complètes, Tome X. : Timée, Critias.* Texte établi et traduit par ALBERT RIVAUD. Pp. cxxiii + 209; xxiii + 42. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925. 20 frs.

THE most notable thing about this tenth volume of the excellent French translation of Plato is the lengthy introduction with which M. Rivaud (Professor in the University of Poitiers) has thought fit to furnish it. Some doubt may be felt, on a mere numeration, whether it is quite suitable to the character of this series to offer an introduction which covers more pages than the translation; but the *Timæus* is such an exceptional work, and is so puzzling both in its general intention and in many of its details, that a satisfactory explanation of the whole of the great phantasmagoria that it presents can only be achieved with a generous allowance of space. And M. Rivaud has made excellent use of his allowance. He is concise and clear, and takes a definite line on each disputed point, even when he can do no more than hazard a modest suggestion; and his easy, attractive style sustains the reader's interest throughout. Special mention may be made of his discussion of the mythical element in the *Timæus* (pp. 12 ff.); his refusal to regard *Timæus* himself as a Pythagorean (p. 18), or this dialogue as in any real sense either 'Pythagorean' or a sequel to the *Republic* (p. 19); his belief that Plato invented the story of Atlantis (p. 31); his note of unsolved difficulties in the theory of ideas (p. 35), and of the nature of Plato's metaphysic (p. 38); his elaborate mathematical treatment of the world-soul (pp. 42 ff.); his arguments for *εἰλλομένην*, and against *ἄλλομένην*, in 40 B (pp. 60-2); and his account of Plato's biology (pp. 98 ff.) and pathology (pp. 110 ff.).

The primary aim of the translation is to make everything as definite as possible, and as this does not appear to have been always the primary

aim of Plato, this version is 'falsely true' to the extent of being rather longer, because more explanatory, than the original: it lacks also the truth attained by the noble diction and rhythm of Archer-Hind. But the modern student will be very grateful for the constant help that it gives him.

The *Critias* is introduced with interesting discussions of the legendary genealogies (pp. 234 ff.), the pictures given of ancient Attica and of Atlantis (pp. 239 ff.), the rituals of the sacrifice and the oath (pp. 244 ff.), and the probable sources from which Plato drew his material (pp. 246 ff.). The text of both dialogues is conservative, and is equipped with an ample apparatus.

W. R. M. LAMB.

*Untersuchungen zur Chronologie der ersten Ptolemäer auf Grund der Papyri.* By ERNST MEYER. One vol. Pp. viii + 90. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1925. 6 gold Marks.

THIS book, an outcome of the Zeno papyri, represents much labour, and is valuable for its full collection of material (with index) and for the detailed chronological tables which summarise the author's results; the question is, how far those results can be accepted. The foundation of Dr. Meyer's chronological scheme is, that there was only one official calendar year—the king's regnal year—reckoned in Macedonian fashion from the day of his accession, and that in every document a year given simply by a number without qualification means the regnal year. (He admits also an arbitrary financial year for Government business beginning 1 Mechir.) He then adopts Ferrabino's hypothesis that the year 'of the Egyptians' is only the Macedonian name for the Egyptian year beginning 1 Thoth, and the year 'as the revenues' the Egyptian name for the Macedonian regnal year, and he proves that these two years cannot be identical; but he has not seen that it follows from Ferrabino's view that you sometimes cannot say whether a year given without qualification be the regnal or the Egyptian year, and that in adopting it he apparently cuts away his own foundation.

By means of this single calendar year and a mass of double datings Meyer correlates the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars day by day throughout the third century; whether such detail is yet practicable may be doubted, though I note that 1 Artemisios of Philopator's sixth Egyptian year (216), now known from the recently-published official priestly decree con-

cerning Raphia to be 1 Phaophi, appears as 14 Phaophi, not a great discrepancy. But the earlier part of the list is thrown out of gear by what seems to be a mistaken theory on the cardinal point of Euergetes' accession, which Meyer makes 27 (or 28) Loos instead of 25 Dios (Canopus decree). Most of the evidence suits either day; but while two datings—*Pap. Hamburg* 24 and *Pap. Edgar* 56—imperatively demand 25 Dios, 27 Loos depends (p. 19) solely on the assumption that a legal delay of sixteen months is incredible. He explains the two dates by making Euergetes joint king with Philadelphus for over a year, finally succeeding as sole king on 25 Dios of 39 Philadelphus = 27 January 245. But no trace of such a joint kingship remains, and Meyer admits that Euergetes' Egyptian years know nothing of it; he was driven to postulate it because he is a year late with all Philadelphus' Julian dates—i.e., Philadelphus becomes co-regent in 284, and Soter dies in 282, Arsinoë in 269, and Philadelphus in 245. Very clear proof of this would be necessary, and is not forthcoming; on the contrary, Meyer has to admit (p. 57) that the year beginning 1 Thoth 282, which ought on his showing to be Philadelphus' second Egyptian year, was in fact his third; while the long argument from the Alexandrian Ptolemaieia, on which he lays much stress—that because it was a penteteris the first celebration *must* fall four years after Soter's death, which was therefore in 282—is I fear misconceived.

He concludes with a chapter criticising Beloch's recent discovery (*Arch. für Papyrus*. VII. 161) that the Macedonian calendar as arranged by Edgar agrees with the moon. If I am right, part of this criticism falls to the ground; but that dealing with the last third of the third century will have to be considered, especially Beloch's dating of Philopator's accession in August (221). It may be that the form this question will assume is, exactly when did the Macedonian calendar in Egypt cease to go with the moon?

W. W. TARN.

*Plutarchi Moralia* rec. et emend. W. R. PATON et I. WEGEHAUPT. One vol. Pp. xlv + 354. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. Paper. Mks. 10.

A MELANCHOLY interest attaches to this first volume of the new Teubner *Plutarch*, inasmuch as neither of its two editors lived to see its publication, and it is dedicated to their memory by the surviving editors; and of these Mr. M. Pohlenz, assisted by Mr. W. Sieveking, has completed and supervised the issue of the present work. Of the fourteen treatises which this volume contains all but two are edited by Paton or from his notes; for, as Mr. Pohlenz tells us in his Preface, after Paton's untimely death in April, 1921, 'uxor eius, Clio Paton, effecit ut etiam reliqui (tractatus) quos ipse praeparaverat imprimi possent. Maximas enim ei debemus gratias quod, qua est liberalitate et erga maritum pietate, ex scriniis eius omnia quae ad Plutarchi editionem pertinebant in Germaniam mittenda curavit. apparebat vero

Patonem etiam reliquorum tractatum vol. I., quos susceperat edendos, et apparatus criticum in universam perfecisse et verba Plutarchi magna ex parte ita restituisse ut non multa mutanda addenda essent; quo munere ego a Curtio Hubert adiutus functus sum.' The manuscripts and authorities for the text are fully and carefully described in the 'Praefatio,' and a double set of footnotes is printed below the text, the one giving the references for the literary sources of Plutarch's quotations or allusions, and the other consisting of notes on the text. Throughout the book it is obvious, even to one who is no expert in Plutarchean tradition, that no pains have been spared by the editors—and by Paton in special—to make the text as accurate as possible, so that it will remain not only a monument of untiring industry, but also of fine and acute scholarship.

I have noted a few places about which an *ιδιώτης* may still feel, I think, a legitimate doubt.

I. *De Lib. Educ.* 7D. τοιοῦτον (text, Paton), with footnote 'τοῦτον ὁ τὸν χειρίζεται ὁ τοῦτον deleri iubet Wil(amowitz)': I suggest (after *ἀφείς*) τὸν ἀφύστατον.

II. *De Aud. Poet.* 21B. Here the second line of the quotation from Sophocles (*fr.* 85, 6) begins καὶ ἵπρος τὰ βατὰ, no mention being made of βέβηλα.

*ib.* 33C. ὁ μὲν εὖ μάλα κ.τ.λ.: 'locus nondum sanatus': read, perhaps, <ἐννοήσας> ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ <τῷ> ... παραβάλλον (for -βαλὼν).

*ib.* 44B. καὶ ἡμέγα (ἴλω Pat., μέτριον Bern.): better eject the word as incurable.

IV. 74A. ἡπρακτικὴ (προφυλακτικὴ ci. Po., προτρεπτικὴ? Wil.): ? a verbal from παράγω ('divert').

VII. 96E. τῆδολον (ἀλλοῖον ci. Po.): perhaps διλογον or ἄλογον.

*ib.* 95E. ἡμποῖν (ἐμποδὼν Pat., ἐμποδίζειν Po.): perhaps ἐμφορεῖν.

X. 120A. φιλόσοφος (φιλόφιλος ci. Michael): ? φιλόπολις.

XIII. 148A. ἡπρος (παιδὸς Wil., παρασίτου? Po.): ? γραδὸς.

*ib.* 149A τόπον <σκοπεῖν δεῖ>: one might suggest δεῖ (or χρῆ)σκ. as a likelier order.

R. G. BURY.

*Achmes: Oneirocriticon.* Edidit F. DREXL. Pp. xvi + 270. Leipzig: Teubner, 1925. Paper. Mks. 10.

SINCE the earliest ages of human history dreams have afforded a mine of mystery from which much gold has been dug by 'the wise men' of the nations—the magicians, the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers. Apparently no dream has as yet revealed the identity of the real author of this 'Key to Dreams,' which was first edited by N. Rigault in 1603; but Mr. Drexel shows that he must have been a Greek Christian, living between A.D. 813 and 1176, and that he was dependent upon Arab sources. The text is divided into some 300 sections, each with a heading such as Ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ κοιλίας, or Ἐκ τῶν Ἰνδῶν περὶ φιλημάτων, and dealing with all kinds of bodily features and actions, animals,

plants, and things of every sort with which dreamers are likely to be concerned. The editor appears to have done his work with much care (possibly more than the book deserves), examining all the available sources for the text and recording the variants in the footnotes. Nor is it all labour in vain; for although this *Achmes* is a compilation of the merest rubbish, a monument of human credulity, it is of some interest to philologists because of the number of Greek words it contains which are not to be found elsewhere; these are duly noted in the full 'Index rerum et verborum potiorum.'

R. G. BURY.

*Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen.* By HANS KRAHE. Pp. viii + 128. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1925. M. 5.

THIS book can be commended almost without reserve. It contains a very full collection of the place-names of Illyria (and of districts such as Calabria, Apulia, and Bruttium where the toponymy appears to be the same character) from Roman and Greek sources down to A.D. 600. By a careful analysis of the formative elements in the names and a classification of the stems, Dr. Krahe can claim with reasonable confidence that he has shown that his material belongs, at any rate mainly, to one linguistic type. At present that is all that can be asked for from legitimate linguistic method. Dr. Krahe, in so far as the Illyrian names are concerned, wisely refrains from etymological speculation, and so avoids the pitfalls into which most investigators in this field insist on plunging. He is less cautious, however, in dealing with a number of names alleged to be of Greek origin. Thus Damastion is explained, p. 1, as a compound of δᾶ 'earth' and μαστός 'breast.' This is phonetically possible, but to make the etymology anything better than guess-work it would be necessary to show (in the absence of certain knowledge that the name meant 'Earth-breast') that the name was given to the place by Greek speakers. As it is, the name is not entitled to an etymology. A difficulty of another kind is illustrated by the etymology suggested, p. 2, for Pylon. The name may be connected with the place-names Pylae and Pylos, and, as Dr. Krahe suggests, be identical with πυλών. But the etymology of πύλη, πυλών is entirely unknown, and it would be impossible to prove that these words were not borrowed by the Greeks from a pre-Hellenic language spoken in the Balkan peninsula. Such words may be Greek only in the sense in which 'York' is English or 'Marseilles,' French.

The Greek stem γερωντο-, p. 88, should rather be written γερωντ-.

J. FRASER.

*La Méthode comparative en Linguistique historique.* By A. MEILLET. Pp. viii + 116 + 4. Oslo: H. Aschehoug and Co., 1925.

IN this work, which comprises in a slightly modified form ten lectures delivered in Oslo in connexion with the opening of the newly founded Institut for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, M. Meillet aims at defining the

conditions under which the linguist can legitimately employ the comparative method. The result is an exceedingly clear and sober introduction to the study of Comparative Philology. Much of the matter is naturally not new, but the stimulating and suggestive treatment of the subject does not suffer on that account. Attention should be called in particular to M. Meillet's repeated insistence on the necessity of caution in etymologising, of dealing with whole words and not with fragments, and of considering the meaning as well as the form. In this M. Meillet re-states principles enunciated before—e.g., by Skutsch, *Glotta* III. 285 ff.—but, if one may judge from recent comparative dictionaries and similar works, the re-statement is not superfluous. In Lecture VII., 'La Notion de Langue mixte,' M. Meillet appears to exaggerate the difficulty of admitting that a language can borrow morphological elements. Where a language has a mixed vocabulary such borrowing is inevitable. Thus, English, a Germanic language, uses the suffix *-ess*, as in *huntress*, without regard to the origin of the stem. The Irish suffix *-óc* is almost certainly borrowed from Welsh, and here the borrowing was not due to the presence in Irish of a large mass of Welsh vocabulary. In modern Eastern Armenian nominal flexion of the type N. sg. *yerk'*, G. sg. *yerk'-i*, N. pl. *yerk'-er*, G. pl. *yerk'-er-i*, is an adaptation of a non-Indogermanic morphological device. English-speakers in Cairo occasionally make the plural of *lunch* 'lunach,' an Arabic 'broken' plural; here there is a conscious break with the morphological tradition which, given favourable conditions, might easily lead to the formation of a language of English stems and Arabic flexion.

J. FRASER.

*Origin of Christian Church Art.* By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI. Translated from the German by O. M. Dalton and H. J. Brauhnoltz. Pp. x + 267. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923.

THE English reader of this handsome book who knows not Josef Strzygowski can have little idea how much he owes to the translators. In their preface we have a hint of the difficulty which has been experienced by a master of the subject working in collaboration with a finished German scholar in providing an English rendering of Strzygowski's German. Those of us who, with slenderer resources, have struggled with a writer whose style combines the faults and virtues of Thucydides and Carlyle, are under no illusion regarding the extent of our debt to Messrs. Dalton and Brauhnoltz for this lucid rendering of the mature views of the great Viennese pioneer.

The contents of the book belong mainly to a region which falls outside the scope of the *Classical Review*, but the opening chapters are of cardinal importance to students of the religious history of the Roman Empire. Strzygowski's discovery of Christian communities close to the eastern frontier of the Empire, which were tolerated, and allowed to develop architectural and artistic forms at

a time when the Church in the Roman Empire was a secret society, whose artistic expression was confined to the wall-paintings of the Catacombs, and to furtive modification of pagan sepulchral designing in surface cemeteries, opens a new chapter not only in the history of art, but in the history of the Empire. To the arguments adduced by the author for moving the ecclesiastical centre of gravity eastwards, may be added the evidence of the earliest of Christian surface gravestones. The epitaph of Avircius Marcellus, dated ca. A.D. 190, describes the wide journeyings of the Bishop of Hieropolis among the Christian communities of his time. But the only communities mentioned by name are those of Rome and *Nisibis*.  
W. M. CALDER.

*C. Julius Caesar: Commentarii Belli Civilis.*  
A. KLOTZ. Pp. 139. Editio minor. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubner, 1925.

THIS is a neat and handy little edition, consisting merely of the text with an Index nominum. The editor, who has also published a larger edition, has evidently been at pains to study the text and to adopt such readings as seem most satisfactory. As there are no notes one does not know the reasons that influenced him in his choice. Now and then he retains a very doubtful reading, such as *his expositis* III. 11<sup>1</sup>, or *suis locis* III. 44<sup>6</sup>.  
A. G. PESKETT.

*Tibulle et les Auteurs du Corpus Tibullianum:*  
Texte établi et traduit par MAX PONCHONT.

Pp. xli + 196 (double). Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1924. Fr. 16.  
THE present edition follows the plan of the series to which it belongs. The introduction embodies a doctoral thesis on the text. The author is indebted to such earlier editors as Baehrens, Hiller, Cartault, and Postgate, as well as to the re-examination of the Ambrosian and Vatican MSS. made by Calonghi, and to collations of MSS. at Brescia and Genoa made by the same scholar. He has himself also recollated the two sets of extracts in the Paris MS. and the Wolfenbüttel MS. (the latter in a photograph). He communicates also a number of conjectures made by the late Louis Havet, the idol of his fellow-countrymen. Each poem is provided with an appropriate introduction, and there are a few notes on the subject-matter.  
A. SOUTER.

*Renovatio Litterarum in Scholas Saec. A.C. XVI. Deducta.* By T. CORCORAN. Pp. xviii + 237. Dublin: 1925.

IT was a very happy idea of Dr. Corcoran, S.J., Professor of Education in the National University of Ireland, to reprint from a large number of somewhat inaccessible works opinions on many educational questions expressed by such early scholars as Budaëus, Vives, Sadoletus, Muretus, Victorius, Longolius, Lambinus, Lipsius, Valla in the West, and certain Greek writers in the East. The topics discussed are mainly such as are important for students and teachers of the classics. The extracts are all in the original Latin, with the exception of one or two in Greek, and their interest is by no means

exclusively historical; many of them have a distinct bearing on problems of our own day.

A. SOUTER.

*Die Moselgedichte des Decimus Magnus Ausonius und des Venantius Fortunatus, zum dritten Male herausgegeben und erklärt von CARL HOSIUS.* Pp. 126, with 5 plates, 2 drawings in the text, and 2 maps. Marburg i. H.: Elwert, 1926. 3 gold Marks.

THE first edition of this work, a worthy production of *Lokalphilologismus*, appeared in 1894, and the second in 1909. This third edition, so far as the greater part of the book is concerned, is an anastatic reprint of the second, but it contains five pages of additional notes, as well as a thorough revision of the archaeological part and of the (modern) map by Professor P. Steiner of the Provincial Museum of Trier. The notes contain *inter alia* a very full record of Ausonius's and Venantius's imitations of earlier Latin poets, as is to be expected from one who knows them like Dr. Hosius. At *Mos. 27 pronus in undas*, Lucan III. 40 might have been adduced (as at 247); with *Mos. 45 cf. Stat. silv. IV. 4, 7; on natalus (Mos. 77), cf. Mayor's Latin Heptateuch, p. 77, v. 20; Mos. 161 tendentis in ultima cliui, cf. Lucan IV. 147 tendit in ultima mundi; Mos. 162, cf. Lucan IV. 136; Mos. 443 fas mihi, cf. also Stat. silv. II. 1, 82, which seems to have been in Ausonius' mind, as uenia occurs there and in Mos. 445. In Venantius II. 11 deliciosus and 16 ualitura deserved notes.*

At *Mos. 249* I should prefer *indutos*, believing that *inducere* is never thus used for *induere*, unless the metre requires the change from *indüere* to *indücere*. In the text of *Mos. 381 -que* has been allowed to slip out after *frugum*. The traveller in the Moselle country will find this book a delightful companion.

A. SOUTER.

*Die Vita S. Hilarii Arelatensis. Eine eidegraphische Studie.* Von BENEDIKT KOLON. Pp. 124. (Rhetorische Studien, 12. Heft.)

Paderborn: Schöningh, 1925. 8 gold Marks.

IN recent times a good deal of attention has been paid to the structure of ancient biographies like Tacitus' *Agricola* and Pontius' *Life of Cyprian*. Here we have a detailed study of the biography, written about the end of the fifth century, of a notable French saint. The study includes a comparison with Xenophon's *Cyrus* (*Anab.* I. 9), Nepos' *Epaminondas*, and Gregory of Nyssa's *Ephraem*. The biographer's dogmatic purpose is to show that Hilary's teaching is in harmony with Augustinian-Roman doctrine. Dr. Kolon argues very soundly that the biography is the work of one Reverentius, to whom it is attributed in the Arles MS., rather than the production of Honoratus of Marseilles, to whom Pseudo-Gennadius assigns it. If a couple of pages on the rare words used by Reverentius had been added, the value of this treatise would have been increased: the lexicographers appear never to have read it, as there is at least one unrecorded word (*inniuolum*, c. 19, § 25).

A. SOUTER.



*Ancient and Modern Rome.* By SENATORE RODOLFO LANCIANI. Pp. x+169. London, Calcutta, Sydney: George G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. 5s. net.

LANCIANI'S larger works were the delight of young scholars a generation ago. The present brochure has much of the old fascination about it, and is written in the wonderfully good English<sup>1</sup> that the veteran still has at his command. It is the fiftieth volume in the attractive series called *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, and the space is in consequence somewhat restricted. No one could draw out better the comparison between the ancient and the modern city of Rome, and this is done in thirteen chapters, dealing with such matters as water-supply, hospitals, palaces, dwelling-houses, and libraries. Into these chapters much information is crowded, and the personal element is not obtruded, despite the immense services the author has rendered to the study of his subject. In another edition some signs of haste might be removed. On p. 7 the excellent water-supply of Madrid deserved recognition. On p. 21, for 'Celsus Aurelianus, an eminent physician of the beginning of the third century,' read 'Caelius Aurelianus . . . of the fourth century' (a misprint in the Greek on the same page). On p. 22, for 'Asklepia' read 'Asklepieia.' On p. 25, for the sake of the uninitiated, the volume of the *Corpus*, No. 6, should be specified. On p. 42, the word 'palaeography' is used in the sense of 'epigraphy.' On p. 105, 'Domitian' appears to be a slip for 'Augustus.' On p. 121, for 'Solis' read 'Sulis.' On p. 122, for 'Phlaegreans' read 'Phlegraeans.' On p. 129, for 'Lebadia' read 'Lebadea,' and for 'Aezanis' read 'Aezani.' On p. 137, substitute 'Victumulae' for the antiquated reading 'Victumviae' (Livy XXI. 57, 9). Certain trifling errors in English and misprints need not be specified.

A. SOUTER.

*Select Treatises of S. Bernard of Clairvaux: De Diligendo Deo*, edited by W. W. WILLIAMS; *De Gradibus Humilitatis et Superbiae*, edited by B. R. V. MILLS. One vol. Pp. xxiii+169. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1926. 10s. net.

THIS is an admirable piece of work, and an excellent introduction to the works of one of the very greatest of the mediaeval writers. The editors have not been satisfied to print a current text, but have made extensive collations of manuscripts, and produced a practically faultless text. This they have also equipped with introductions, a critical apparatus, a learned and helpful commentary, and adequate indexes. Mr. Mills' record of scripture quotations is not quite so complete as that of Mr. Williams. On p. 17, l. 15, *percursum* is doubtless a misprint for *percussum*; the lexical notes might sometimes have been made fuller and more precise, if recent works on the later Latin had been more widely used; and a closer acquaintance with the works of Jerome and Augustine would have

provided some very apt illustrations; but who is sufficient for these things?

A. SOUTER.

*The Eclogues of Antonio Geraldini.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Pp. 84. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1924. \$1.50.

THIS attractive volume has all the qualities we have learned to associate with Professor Mustard's works. Those who know his editions of *Baptista Mantuanus*, *Sannazaro*, and others, in a field that he has made all his own, will regard praise of his textual accuracy and his extensive knowledge of the ancient Latin poets as superfluous. The text is based on a copy of the earliest known edition, printed at Rome in 1485, but other early editions, all of which appear to be rare, have been consulted. The format is that of the earlier volumes of the series, but in this case a rich cream-coloured paper has been employed.

A. SOUTER.

*Abhandlungen zur antiken Rechtsgeschichte.* Festschrift für GUSTAV HANAUER. Graz: Ulr. Mosers Buchhandlung. Pp. vii+159. 7 Sch. 15.

THIS volume, in honour of Gustav Hanauser, contains essays by six 'Freunden und Schülern.'

Professor Wenger sets out some broad conclusions, reached or confirmed in the course of his labours on his *Römisches Zivilprozessrecht*. After stating an interesting hypothesis on the origin of the *Legis Actio*, he calls attention to the fundamental difference between the classical *Ordo Iudiciorum*, a State-controlled arbitration, and the *Cognitio* of the later Empire, an administrative procedure, essentially a branch of Public Law. There has been a complete reversal of the old ideas: litigation, once a *Partei-Akt*, has become a State mechanism.

Professor San Nicolo, studying the changes of form of Babylonian and Assyrian private documents, shows the great antiquity of modern-looking commercial forms, and the conservatism which retains them, practically unaltered, through a period reckoned by millennia.

Professor Steinwenter continues his fruitful enquiries into the history of Byzantine procedure, and shows, *inter alia*, that the Libellary system, which we commonly associate with Justinian, was in use for certain cases, at least in Egypt, early in the fifth century.

Dr. Lautner discusses *Interrogationes* in law. He denies classicity to the name '*actiones interrogatoriae*,' and to the notions that the answer creates a quasi-contract, or a '*pro herede gestio*.' The purpose of '*interrogationes*' he finds, following Demelius, in characteristics of the group of actions to which they applied, and not in the desire to facilitate proof, which appears in the Digest as their purpose, after they have been generalised. He considers details in connexion with the '*interrogatio*': '*an vel qua ex parte heres sit*,' contending, with arguments of varying strength, for a large number of interpolations.

Professor Pfaff discusses the '*Vermögensbe-griff*' in classical law. The texts have many

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a little American

expressions more or less equivalent to 'Ver-mögen,' not all of precisely the same meaning: what he, in fact, discusses, is the 'Bonabegriff.' 'Non constat,' however, that 'bona' means in all relations the same thing, or that the classical jurists, casuists all, ever cumbered themselves with a 'Bonabegriff.' One needs more proof than the author gives that a classical lawyer ever thought of a debt as a negative asset. He attributes to the classics that abstract and generalising method more commonly thought Byzantine.

Professor Koschaker gives us an enlightening discussion of conditional *Novatio*. This leads to remarks on the relation between the 'exceptioes pacti' and 'doli,' which seem less acceptable. It is one thing to hold it Byzantine to give the 'exceptio pacti' the characteristics of a 'bonae fidei' transaction, another to hold that a classic could not have thought that to sue in defiance of a pact, relying on the civil law position, was 'dolus,' and thus have held 'exceptio doli' or 'exceptio pacti' available. G. 3. 179 is not lightly to be set aside as an interpolation.

W. W. BUCKLAND.

*Fuldaer Studien* (Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosphilol. und histor. Klasse, Jahrgang, 1925, 3. Abhandlung). Von P. LEHMANN. Pp. 53; one collotype plate. München, 1925.

IN 1672 Graevius, writing to Heinsius, described the Fulda Library as 'omnium praestantissima et antiquissima.' It is with this great centre of German culture that the present monograph, from the hand of a master, is concerned. It is to pave the way for Professor Lehmann's exhaustive treatise on Fulda. In order to form an idea of the place Fulda occupied in the literary life of mediaeval Germany, one must have recourse, in the first instance, to the extant Fulda manuscripts and ancient Fulda catalogues. Thus Professor Lehmann begins with a survey of the extant Fulda catalogues, and discusses their difficulties. He points out that the catalogue next in point of time after the one in the Bâle manuscript F III. 15A is the catalogue falsely attributed by Becker (*Catalogi antiqui*, No. 128) to the twelfth century; and dates it between 840 and 850. He convincingly proves that part of the latter catalogue is the fragment given by Becker as No. 13; and he has illuminating remarks to make on the new sixteenth-century catalogue discovered by Karl Christ, and on the Fulda index of theological books found in the Paris MS. *Nouv. Acq. lat.* 643 (saec. xvii).

The Fulda library suffered enormous losses during the Reformation, when its books were neglected, misplaced, and stolen. Fulda books are now scattered among many libraries of Europe, and in order to reconstruct the ancient collection, it is of great importance to ascertain the characteristic marks of Fulda manuscripts. In the hands of an expert like Professor Lehmann, a single name, or the merest ungrammatical phrase jotted down on the cover, furnishes a key for solving historical and biblio-

graphical problems; and thus he vindicates a numbers of manuscripts for Fulda. In conclusion he goes into a long discussion of the Vienna manuscript of the *Lorsch Annals*, which was written at Fulda. He corrects old readings, offers new ones of historic interest, and altogether throws fresh light on a number of otherwise obscure or misunderstood points. No student of ancient manuscripts can afford to leave this suggestive monograph unread. It has a peculiar interest for Englishmen, since Fulda was an Anglo-Saxon foundation, where, in its early history, Anglo-Saxon culture predominated.

E. A. LOWE.

*Palaeographia latina IV.* (St. Andrew University Publications XXX.). Edited by Professor W. M. LINDSAY. Pp. 85; 6 collotype plates. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1925. 5s.

THE issue before us opens with a short but illuminating article by Professor Heraeus, in which he discusses certain critical signs, and convincingly shows that the problem presented by *ia*, in the Laurentian manuscript of Livy (III. 26. 9; IV. 13. 6; X. 5. 13; X. 37. 15), which has baffled many editors, is solved by interpreting *ia* as *in alio* (sc. *codice* or *exemplari*). The expanded form actually occurs in the margin of the famous Fronto manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

As a pendant to the paper on the early Lorsch scriptorium, which appeared in the previous number, Professors Lindsay and Lehmann give in the present issue a brief account of the abbreviations and other scribal usage prevailing in the ninth century in the neighbouring centre of the archbishopric of Mayence, Professor Lindsay discussing the half-dozen manuscripts in Rome (in the Palatine collection), and Professor Lehmann dealing with the fourteen manuscripts in Munich.

The *pièce de résistance* of this number is furnished by Dr. Tafel's study of the Lyons scriptorium, continued from the second issue. It contains a mass of valuable information on manuscripts connected with Florus, Manno, Leidrad, Agobard, Amolo, and Remigius; on extant ninth-century manuscripts from Lyons, on names found in these manuscripts, on current abbreviations, and on Spanish activity at Lyons. For the sifting and editing of this material we are indebted to Professor Lindsay, who concludes the paper with a sketch of the original plan, in Dr. Tafel's own words. To the list of manuscripts with annotations by Florus should be added Paris lat. 10592 (Cyprian) saec. V ex. and Paris N.A. lat. 1443 (S. Augustini Epistulae), saec. IX.

An article by A. de Boüard, on the origin of the Caroline minuscule—a question much disputed of late—closes this interesting issue. Six excellent plates illustrate the article on the Mayence scriptorium.

E. A. LOWE.

<sup>1</sup> On fol. 14 of Paris 5763 (Caesar, Bell. Gall.) saec. IX. an alternative colophon is introduced by *in alio ita* (see Steffens, *Lat. Pal.*<sup>2</sup>, pl. 51). On fol. 12 occurs the phrase *ita in alio habetur*.

*Latin Lyrics with Measured Music.* By W. MCARTHUR. London: Jonathan Cape, 1925. Pp. 46.

THIS little volume is an attempt to make the study of Latin poetry attractive to pupils by providing music to which it may be sung; and I wish it all success. Most boys and girls like music, and the singing of odes of Horace should be a popular exercise. My only difficulty is that no bar-lines or time-signatures are provided. Each line of verse is treated as a rhythmical unit; long notes correspond to long syllables, and short to short, but there is no further indication of how these longs and shorts are to be grouped. Yet some grouping will surely be found necessary in practice. Mr. McArthur's intention apparently is that this may be left to the singers or to the accompanist. I am told that these tunes were tried at the Edinburgh meeting of the Association for the Reform of Latin Teaching, and that they proved a success. The only other published collection of music for Latin lyrics that I know is Rudolf Zwintscher's *Die Oden des Horaz, mit genauer Uebertragung der alten*

*Metren in musikalische Rhythmen* (Leipzig, 1912). Here all the music is barred and provided with time-signatures, which in the case of Sapphics vary from bar to bar (duple time alternating with triple time); Alcaics are set in  $\frac{3}{4}$  bars. The aim of the writer was to provide music which did fuller justice to the quantities of the Latin metres than the well-known music of Flemming for the ode *Integer vitae*, which was based mainly on the prevalent Latin accents, and therefore assumed the form of  $\frac{4}{4}$  time.

Mr. McArthur's tunes for Horace are taken mainly from sixteenth-century French composers—Lejeune, Mauduit, Savorny—who seem to have aimed at introducing classical metres into French verse. But the music here provided includes settings by Martin Agricola for elegiacs and hendecasyllabic verse. In regard to the former I feel that the treatment of the pentameter as a rhythmical unit, without any break in the middle, is a defect which impairs its rhythmical effect. I should much prefer a rest of half a bar at the diaeresis.

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

## OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers were read:

January 29, 'The Delphian Inscription alleged to be the Lex Gabinia,' by Mr. M. N. Tod.

February 5, 'Aeschylus' Eumenides,' by Professor G. G. A. Murray.

February 19, 'Thirty Years of Athenian Politics. 510-480 B.C.,' by Mr. H. T. Wade-Gery.

February 26, 'An Apology for the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius,' by Mr. M. M. Gillies.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

*CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).* (1926.)

**ANTIQUITIES.**—February 15. A. M. Brooks, *Architecture* (in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*) [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1924] (T. F. Hamlin). Praised for its sketch of the development of European architecture, but criticised severely for over-emphasis of non-essential accidents, and for an over-simplification which leads to the enunciation of hard-and-fast rules.—March 29. Helen H. Tanzer, *The Villas of Pliny the Younger* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1924] (H. W. Magoun). A collection of plans drawn by various scholars. M. discusses at length the meanings of 'cavaedium' and 'atrium.'

**HISTORY.**—March 8. R. Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, No. 6) [London and New York: Longmans, 1925] (M. Rostovtzeff). Highly praised, especially for its estimate of the influence of the Phocaean culture on the native Iberian.—A. M. Shepard, *Sea Power in Ancient History* [Boston: Little and Brown, 1924] (J. W.

Pratt). A 'sane and moderate' attempt to apply the principles of Admiral Mahan.—March 15. E. G. Hardy, *The Catilinarian Conspiracy in its Context* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1924). E. G. Hardy, *Some Problems in Roman History* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924] (E. T. Sage). Favourable. S. criticises several points of detail.

**LITERATURE.**—January 18. G. Norwood, *The Art of Terence* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1923] (F. G. Ballentine). Favourable. B. criticises N.'s preference for the 'Hecyra' and depreciation of the 'Andria.'—Helen H. Law, *Studies in the Songs of Plautine Comedy* [Menasha, Wisconsin: Banta, 1922] (R. C. Flickinger). A doctoral dissertation. Praised. F. discusses Leo's and Fraenkel's theories of the sources of the Plautine 'cantica.'—January 25. Eleanor S. Duckett, *Catullus in English Poetry* (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 6) [Northampton, Mass.: 1925] (W. P. Mustard). M. approves, and adds parallels of his own.—March 8. K. P. Harrington, *Catullus and His Influence* (in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*) [Boston: Marshall

Jones, 1923] (H. V. M. Dennis). Favourable on the whole.

RELIGION.—March 22. Jane E. Harrison, *Mythology* (in *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*) [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1924] (E. Riess). Long review, mainly unfavourable. 'It sets out as ascertained results what can be characterised only as a chain of brilliant hypotheses of doubtful correctness.'

[The issues of February 15 and March 1, 15 and 29 contain lists of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.]

MUSÉE BELGE, XXX., No. 1 (JANUARY, 1926).

A. Severyns, *La patrie de Penthésilée*. Homer's Priam fights against Pontic Amazons: to avoid contradiction and to meet Milesian disillusion on these, Arctinus made Penth. Thracian, and distinct traces of this tradition continue.—H. Bornecque, *Collation des MSS. des Amours d'Ovide conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale*.—L. Laurand, *Le MS. Laurentianus L45 du De Amicitia de Cicéron*. Both collations made for new Budé editions.

#### PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(NOVEMBER, 1925-JANUARY, 1926.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—U. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hellenistische Dichtung in der Zeit des Kallimachos*. 2 Bde. [Berlin, 1924, Weidmann] (Bethe). A foundation-stone for the history of Hellenistic poetry. Though the hymns of Callimachus form its kernel, the work also includes Latin elegiac poetry.

LATIN LITERATURE.—H. Brinkmann, *Geschichte der lateinischen Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter* [Halle, 1925, Niemeyer. Pp. viii + 110] (Manitius). Most successful. We are now on firm ground in this important and interesting field.—H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical Elements in the Tragedies of Seneca* [University of Illinois, 1925. Pp. vi + 185] (Rossbach). Exact and thorough.—*Martialis Epigrammaton libri*. Edidit W. Heraeus [Leipzig, 1925, Teubner. Pp. lxxviii + 417] (Helm). Thoroughly scientific in method; at times reminiscent of Lachmann's Lucretius. Reviewer discusses and criticises textual details at some length.

HISTORY.—F. Münzer, *Die politische Vernichtung des Griechentums. Das Erbe der Alten, herausg. von O. Immisch*. [Leipzig, 1925. Pp. 69] (Beroc). Welcomed as a successful and sensible account of the Greek world from Alexander to 146 B.C.—W. Otto, *Kulturgeschichte des Altertums* [München, 1925, Beck. Pp. x + 175] (Hohl). Equally useful to classical philologists, archaeologists, and historians; does not attempt to be a systematic account or a complete bibliography, but is extraordinarily clear and to the point.—G. Weigand, *Ethnographie von Makedonien* [Leipzig, 1924, Brandstetter. Pp. viii + 104] (Mehlis). Essential for students of Macedonian history and lan-

guage.—A. E. R. Boak and J. E. Dunlap, *Two Studies in later Roman and Byzantine Administration* (University of Michigan Studies) [New York, 1924, The Macmillan Company. Pp. 324] (Hohl). The 'studies' deal with the 'magister officii' and the 'praepositus sacri cubiculi'; extraordinary industry shown in collecting the wide material and sound criticism in arranging and reviewing it.

PHILOSOPHY.—G. Burckhardt, *Heraklit. Seine Gestalt und sein Können* [Zürich, n.d., Füssli. Pp. 86] (Nestle). An illuminating description of Heraclitus' personality and message.—K. Vorländer, *Die griechischen Denker vor Sokrates* [Leipzig, 1924, Bausteiner Verlag. Pp. 110] (Nestle). Scientific throughout, and reveals the expert in history of philosophy; happily free from the modern tendency to onesidedness.—*Aristoteles, über die Seele*. Ins Deutsche übertragen von A. Lasson [Jena, 1924, Diederichs. Pp. 82] (Gohlke). A readable translation, and worth reading.—G. Mehlis, *Plotin* [Stuttgart, 1924. Pp. 148] (Lehmann). Most warmly recommended as an introduction to Plotinus; disputed points left aside, but many interesting comparisons with other philosophers made.

ARCHAEOLOGY.—M. J. Rostowzew, *Skythien und Bosphorus. Kritische Übersicht der literarischen und archäologischen Denkmäler* [Akad. f. d. Geschichte d. materiell. Kultur, 1925. Pp. 627] (Bickermann). The vast material, mainly archaeological, has been carefully sifted and conveniently arranged; but Rostowzew's own standpoint is historical rather than archaeological. The MS. was ready in 1918, but conditions in Russia have delayed the printing for seven years.

MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION.—A. Rutgers, *Propyläen. Inleiding tot de Mythologie van Hellas en Rome* [Zutphen, 1924, Thieme en Cie. Pp. iv + 252, and 81 illustrations] (Kraemer). Rutgers handles the vast material with great skill, and is everywhere familiar with the latest results of modern research.—*Fontes Historiae Religionis Aegyptiacae, Pars V*. Collegit Th. Hopfner [Bonn, 1925, Marcus u. Weber] (v. Bissing). The copious indices will be of great service not only to Egyptologists, but also to historians.

PALAEOGRAPHY.—G. Jachmann, *Die Geschichte des Terenztextes im Altertum. Rektoratsprogramm für die Universität Basel 1923-24* [Basel, 1924. Pp. 152] (Klotz). Deals with two points of especial importance, the illustrations and the divisions into scenes; an appreciable advance in the question of the textual tradition of Terence.—V. Gardthausen, *Das alte Monogramm* [Leipzig, 1924, Hiersemann. Pp. xii + 188, and 5 plates] (Wessely). A brilliant piece of pioneer work, which opens up a large new field for palaeographical research.

GENERAL.—A. Gercke and E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft, Bd. I., 3. Aufl.* [Leipzig, 1923-24, Teubner] (Schroeder). The different sections are now published separately, and have in some cases been considerably enlarged.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.*

\*.\* *Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.*

- Baillie Reynolds** (P. K.) *The Vigiles of Imperial Rome*. Pp. 133; illustrations and plans. Oxford: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Bailebury** (T. K. E.) *Reddenda Minima. A Latin Translation Book for Beginners*. Pp. 100. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 2s.
- Baynes** (N. H.) *The Byzantine Empire*. Pp. 256. (Home University Library.) London: Williams and Norgate, 1925. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net.
- Bell** (E.) *Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean*. Pp. xvi+213; 80 illustrations, maps, and plans. (The Origins of Architecture, II.) London: G. Bell and Sons, 1926. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Bethe** (E.) *Griechische Dichtung*. Parts 1-6. Pp. 192; 4 plates, 158 illustrations. (Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft.) Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1926.
- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé*. No. 10. Janvier, 1926.
- Busolt** (G.) *Griechische Staatskunde*. Dritte, neugestaltete Auflage der Gr. Staats- und Rechtsaltertümer. Erster Hauptteil. Pp. ix+642. Zweite Hälfte, bearbeitet von H. Swoboda. Pp. xi+958. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1920 and 1926. Cloth, 20 and 54 M.
- Carmody** (W. M.) *The Subjunctive in Tacitus*. Pp. x+185. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. Cloth.
- Cary** (E.) *Dio's Roman History*. With an English translation. In nine volumes. VIII. Pp. v+482. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann (New York: Putnam), 1925. Cloth, 10s. net (leather 12s. 6d. net).
- Classical Philology*. Vol. XXI., No. 1. January, 1926.
- Cook Wilson** (J.) *Statement and Inference*. With other philosophical papers. Edited from the MSS., etc., by A. S. L. Farquharson, with a portrait, memoir, and selected correspondence. In two volumes. Pp. clxx+901. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 31s. 6d. net.
- Dichl** (E.) *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres*. Vol. II., fasc. 2. Pp. 81-160. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 3.75 M.
- Drew** (D. L.) *Culex. Sources and their bearing on the problem of authorship*. Pp. 107. Oxford: Blackwell, 1925. Cloth.
- FitzGerald** (A.) *The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, translated into English with introduction and notes. Pp. 272. London: Milford, 1926. Cloth and boards, 21s. net.
- Fowler** (H. N.) *Plato*. With an English translation. VI. Cratylus, Parmenides, Greater Hippias, Lesser Hippias. Pp. vii+480. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann (New York: Putnam), 1926. Cloth, 10s. net (leather, 12s. 6d. net).
- Frangoudis** (G. S.) *L'Hellénisme en lutte contre l'Orient et l'Occident. Les Traités de Sèvres et de Lausanne. Appel aux nations libérales*. Pp. 292. Athens: Imprimerie Franco-hellénique, 1925. Paper.
- Gardner** (P.) *New Chapters in Greek Art*. Pp. xv+367; xvi plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Glots** (G.) *Ancient Greece at Work. An economic history of Greece from the Homeric period to the Roman conquest*. Pp. xii+402; 49 illustrations. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul (New York: Knopf), 1926. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Glots** (G.) *Histoire Générale. Histoire Ancienne, deuxième Partie. Histoire Grecque*. Tome premier: Des Origines aux Guerres Médiques. Pp. xix+635. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1925. Paper, 40 fr.
- Goelzer** (H.) et **Bellessort** (A.) *Virgile, Eneïde, Livres I-VI. Texte établi par H. G. et traduit par A. B.* (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres.' Paper, 18 fr.
- Goldmann** (E.) *Die Duenos-Inschrift*. Pp. xiii+176, 2 plates. Heidelberg: Winter, 1926. Paper, 10 M.; bound, 12 M.
- Green** (C. A. F.) *Test Examinations in Latin*. Pp. 56. London: Methuen, 1926. 1s. 3d.
- Grundy** (G. B.) *A History of the Greek and Roman World*. Pp. vii+536, 2 maps. London: Methuen, 1926. Cloth, 22s. 6d. net.
- Gudeman** (A.) *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur*. I. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Republik. Pp. 120. II. Die Kaiserzeit bis Hadrian. Pp. 148. III. Von Hadrian bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrh. Pp. 132. *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Lateinischen Literatur vom 2.-6. Jahrhundert*. Pp. 120. (Sammlung Götschen 52, 866, 890, 898.) Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1923-25. Cloth.
- Gummere** (R. M.) *Seneca. Ad Lucilium epistulae morales*. With an English translation. In three volumes. III. Pp. vi+463. (Loeb Classical Library.) London: Heinemann (New York: Putnam), 1925. Cloth, 10s. net (leather 12s. 6d. net).
- Gwynn** (A.) *Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian*. Pp. 260. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Hammer** (J.) *Prolegomena to an edition of the Panegyricus Messalae. The military and political career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus*. Pp. ix+100. New York: Columbia University Press (London: Milford), 1925. Paper, 6s. 6d. net.
- Harder** (R.) *'Ocellus Lucanus'*. Pp. xxv+161. (Neue Philologische Untersuchungen, I.) Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 9 M.
- Harrington** (K. P.) *Mediaeval Latin, selected and edited by K. P. H.* Pp. xxix+698, with

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# The Classical Review

JULY, 1926

## THE *ELECTRA* OF EURIPIDES.

*A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Classical Association in London on January 8, 1926.*

THE first question that is apt to be asked about a play is, 'Is it a good play or a bad play?' That question, however, which is a fair one if it is put to a critic who has seen the play produced by the author, may be much more difficult to answer about a play that was produced over two thousand years ago. Before we can be in a position to pass judgment, we must make sure that we understand the play, how it ought to be acted, and what were the effects at which the author was aiming. These are really matters of fact, and the facts are sometimes not easy to get at. With Aeschylus and Sophocles the effects are, I think, hardly ever a matter of doubt. We can easily supply for ourselves the stage-directions which, unfortunately, the MSS. of a play do not contain. But it is very different with Euripides. Not only are his characters more subtle, but the moral of his plays is to a certain extent deliberately obscured. These difficulties can be overcome by careful unbiassed study; but this unbiassed study is exactly what the *Electra* has never received, because it contains a deliberate attack on certain features of Aeschylus' *Choephoroe*.

The admirers of Aeschylus froth at the mouth. Von Schlegel calls the *Electra* 'perhaps of all Euripides' extant plays the very vilest.' Oddly enough, the admirers of Euripides are equally affected. Professor Murray is so shocked at the suggestion that Euripides could make a very weak and undignified attack on his great master that he denies the existence of 'such an artistically ruinous proceeding.' In short, one side says, 'This play attacks Aeschylus, therefore it is a bad play'; while the other says, 'This is a good play, therefore it cannot be attacking Aeschylus.' Let us discard our emotions, and try to understand Euripides before we judge him.

Any dramatist who, like Euripides or Shaw, uses the theatre as a pulpit must not mind being attacked; but assailants must be careful to distinguish between bad morals and bad art. For instance, it is unsound criticism to say that *The Doctor's Dilemma* is a bad play because Shaw thinks he is a better dramatist than Shakespeare, or because he is so unsettling, or because the critic hates anti-vivisection. It is true that Shaw misunderstands, and consequently misrepresents, modern scientific research; but the play, as a play, is not necessarily a penny the worse for that. The defect of the play is, not that the preaching is scientifically unsound, but that it is inartistically managed; that Shaw the preacher (as so often) gets the better of Shaw the dramatist. Shaw, however, has two great advantages over Euripides: he can publish as full stage-directions as he likes, and he can print immense prefaces to explain the purpose and meaning of his plays. Euripides is not so lucky. To Paley, *Electra* is a romantic and pathetic figure; to Henri Weil she is a ghoul, and Orestes more unhappy than guilty; von Schlegel thinks them both equally abominable. Mr. Keene says: 'The hero and heroine of Euripides' play are a little mean and a little vacillating, but, unfortunately, not the less human on that account. They discharged what they judged a sacred duty, and do not claim less of our sympathy for letting us into the secret of the doubts and fears which that dreadful duty imposed upon them.' How weak Euripides' character-drawing must be if all these interpretations can be justified! Is the *Electra* a 'close-knit, powerful, well-constructed play'?



(Murray), or skimble-skamble stuff, whose only merit is that it is easy Greek and eminently suitable for schoolboys (Paley)?

If we were Athenians come to hear the *Electra* performed for the first time, what should we expect if the secret of the play had been well kept and we were not intimate friends of the author? We should, of course, know the story of Orestes; we learnt that at our mother's knee. Aeschylus' *Choephoroe* we should know nearly as well, for the oldest of us saw it when it was first performed, and the rest of us have probably learnt large portions of it at school. Our sympathies would probably be with Orestes and Electra. Every man of us could feel assured that there would be no serious alteration, either by Aeschylus or by Sophocles, of a legend as sacred to the Greeks as the Old Testament is to us. Could we feel the same security about Euripides?

Let us allow ourselves to overhear the conversation of those fine old crusted Tories the Eponymus Archon and the Basileus as they sit in their comfortable armchairs in the front row of the stalls:

*Ep.* 'You know where you are with Aeschylus and Sophocles, but with that terrible Euripides one can feel sure of very little except that Orestes and Electra will kill Clytemnestra.'

*Bas.* 'Yes; and the atmosphere of the play will be that of the police-court (*ραβδούχων ὀξήσει τὸ δράμα*). He has probably said to himself: "Now, when a young man cuts his mother's throat, what sort of a young man is he?" Of course, if you put it like that, even a schoolmaster (who suffers more from mothers than anyone) would probably admit that the removal of a mother is hardly the act of a virtuous character, so we shall probably find that Orestes is a beast and Electra worse.'

*Ep.* 'And they are both of them aristocrats too, so we shall have him lugging in some of his precious socialistic theories.'

*Bas.* 'I wonder if he'll make Clytemnestra a down-trodden blue-stocking? He's quite capable of it. I hate these high-falutin' notions! A woman's proper sphere is the home. That's why I never let my wife come to anything of Euripides'.'

*Ep.* 'Well, one thing is certain: Euripides will be rude to Apollo; and really, when you come to think of some of the things Delphi has said lately, I don't blame him.'

*Bas.* 'All the same, I wish it was Aeschylus; he's so Athenian. Hush! Here comes the prologue. Bless my soul, who on earth is this bumpkin?'

The worst fears of our archons are not realised. The prologue lets us know that the main features of the story have not been altered, and it is obvious that the 'bumpkin' is prepared to believe any evil of Aegisthus, who is represented as having tried to kill Electra; but 'her mother, savage as she was, saved her from him.' There are, however, two changes: the scene is not laid outside the royal palace, but outside the humble cottage which is the farmer's home, and (most surprisingly) Electra is his wife, though only in name. Aegisthus had not dared to marry her to a suitor of equal rank lest a son should be born to punish him, whereas a poor man's son could not be dangerous.

So far all is plain sailing. I doubt if anyone in the audience can yet guess the dramatic reasons for Electra's being married, and to such a man—certainly not the last and most grisly one—but at least the first character is clearly drawn: a simple, humble, hard-working peasant, one of the type whom Euripides elsewhere calls the backbone of the country (*αὐτουργός, ὅπερ καὶ μόνοι σφίζουν γῆν*).

The prologue over, the farmer goes off to his day's work, but stops on hearing Electra come out of the house. She is poorly dressed even for a farmer's wife. Until he speaks to her she does not notice him.

(As this scene is of extreme importance and has been much misunderstood I shall translate it in full. It is obvious that every word of Electra's first speech must be studied carefully. If Euripides knows his work it should give us the key to her character.)

*El.* (soliloquising) 'O black night, nurse of the golden stars, in which I go to fetch water from the brook, bearing this jar balanced on my head; I am not indeed reduced to such utter need, but I would let the gods behold Aegisthus' shameful treatment of me, and I would utter to high heaven lamentations for my father. For that accursed daughter of Tyndareos, my mother, has turned me out of my home to do Aegisthus favour' (it was Aegisthus who was to blame according to the *αἰρουργός*), 'and by bearing other children to Aegisthus she has made Orestes and me ciphers in our own home.'

(That speech is only ten lines long, but we already have Electra's character drawn by a master-hand.)

*Aut.* 'Why, poor thing, are you working for me? Why do you not cease your labours, you that were gently nurtured? Do I not forbid them?'

*El.* 'I count you as a friend next only to the gods, for you have not insulted me in my misfortunes. It is a godsend to find when in terrible trouble a healer such as I find in you. But indeed I must, even though unbidden, to the limit of my strength lighten your labours and share in your toil that you may have less to bear. You have enough with the work of the farm; the household tasks are mine. It is pleasant for the labourer to find things comfortable when he sets foot indoors.'

(How sweetly dutiful a wife we should think her if she hadn't just told us that the real reason for her early rising was the hope that the recording angel would thereby be induced to score up a black mark against Aegisthus. Neither Paley nor Keene observes the inconsistency. Weil, who does, avoids it by an emendation which leaves the passage almost untranslatable. Nauck avoids it by three quite arbitrary emendations.)

*Aut.* 'Go if it is your will; after all, the spring is not far from the house. At dawn I will put the oxen into the ploughland, and sow the field, for there never was an idler who could pick up a living without working for it, just by keeping the gods' names on his tongue.'

(What a condemnation of Electra! The farmer worships her and all her family, but Euripides uses him to castigate them, both by such homely saws as these, and by the contrast between his solid worth and their sordid passions.)

The farmer now goes off to his work, and Electra to fetch water. As they leave, two men armed to the teeth (obviously Orestes and Pylades) enter stealthily from the other wing. They are attended by two slaves. Orestes informs us that he has come in obedience to the god's commands to kill Aegisthus and 'his cursed mother,' and it soon becomes clear that he has no intention of running any unnecessary risks. He has waited till night to offer sacrifice at Agamemnon's tomb: he does not mean to enter the city walls, and he has only come just inside the boundaries of the state, so that he can skip across the border if recognised, and if unrecognised can get some news of his sister, whom he expects to help him. He has heard of her marriage, but does not know who her husband is, and hopes to get some information at the farm. At this point Electra returns from the spring, and he naturally mistakes her for a slave, and all four bold assassins hide behind a pillar. Electra as she approaches sings a lament for herself, her father, and her brother (the order is characteristic).

The Chorus then dance in, and the leader invites Electra to an approaching festival in honour of Hera. Electra's gloom deepens. This is tragedy indeed, for she has no clothes.

The ensuing dialogue between Electra and Orestes need not for our purposes be translated in full. It is, however, important to notice that Orestes now knows who Electra is (having overheard the *Parodos*), and yet introduces himself as a friend of Orestes. Why this unnecessary falsehood? It is not a sufficient explanation to say that a similar reticence had been shown by Aeschylus' Orestes, for Euripides is going to attack various improbabilities introduced by the older dramatist, and he must take care that all his own incidents are natural. He does

take the greatest care in this matter. Then why is Orestes so silly? The explanation is, I think, that Euripides' Orestes is a coward, and he is afraid to reveal himself to the Chorus, lest they should betray him. Even when it becomes clear that the Chorus are friendly and Electra prepared to go to any lengths, he remains obstinately silent. Irresolution is the keynote of his character, and even the boldest of us, if we had an Electra as our sister, and were not quite sure whether we wanted to do what she wished us to or not, would probably prefer that she should remain ignorant of our identity.

After Electra has heard the latest news of Orestes she answers the strangers' questions about her marriage, and adds that Aegisthus and Clytemnestra do not know that it is a marriage only in name. From this point (274) it is necessary to translate.

*Or.* 'This being so, what will Orestes do if he comes to Argos?'

*El.* 'Can you ask? It is a shameful question. Is not this the moment for action?'

*Or.* 'But if he did come, how could he kill his father's murderess?'

*El.* 'By being bold as his father's enemies were bold.'

*Or.* 'Would you really help him kill your mother?'

*El.* 'Yes, with the same axe with which she killed my father.' (She needs no oracle to spur her to action.)

*Or.* 'Am I to tell him this, and that your purpose is firm?'

*El.* 'Let me die when I have spilt my mother's blood.'

*Or.* 'Oh!' (The 'Oh!' is an exclamation of horror which he makes haste to explain away.) 'I wish Orestes were at hand to hear this.'

*El.* 'But, stranger, I should not know him if I saw him.' (Orestes heaves a sigh of relief.)

*Or.* 'Of course, for you were both young when you parted.' (This is a sly hit at Aeschylus, who had made Orestes recognise Electra instantly at a considerable distance.)

*El.* 'Only one of my friends would recognise him.'

*Or.* (Uneasy again) 'The man who stole him away and saved his life?'

*El.* 'Yes, my father's old attendant.'

*Or.* (Trying to change the subject) 'And has your father got a proper tomb?'

*El.* 'He fared as he fared, cast out of the house.' (This can only mean that Agamemnon has received the burial of Jezebel, and it is untrue, but Orestes is terribly shocked, and wonders whether the tomb at which he had sacrificed did not contain his father's bones after all.)

*Or.* 'Oh, how horrible!' (Then, fearing that he may have given himself away,) 'The tale even of another's misery wrings one's heart. But tell me, that I may take the news to your brother: it is distressing, but he must be told. Pity can never touch the ignorant clod: that emotion belongs only to the wise: it is the price they pay for their too great wisdom.' (Orestes lecturing Electra complacently on pity!)

*Chor.* 'I also wish to hear, for I live far from the city, and do not know the evil that goes on there, but now I too wish to learn about it.' (This is awkward for Electra, who is asked to substantiate a lie which will not bear examination.)

*El.* 'I will tell if I must. And I needs must tell a friend about my hard fate and my father's. Since you force me to speak, I beseech you, stranger, tell Orestes my sufferings and my father's. First tell him what the clothes are like in which I am pining away, how I am fouled and grimed, how I live in a hovel, I that was born in a palace, weaving my garments with the toil of my own hands, and with my own hands fetching water from the brook. Deprived of festivals and robbed of dances,' (You will remember that she has just refused an invitation) 'I cannot face wives, being a maid; I cannot face Castor, who before he joined the gods used to woo me his kinswoman. But my mother sits on a throne on Phrygian rugs, and by her stand Asian slaves, my father's captives, their Trojan

robes buckled with golden pins. But my father's blood still rots black in the house, and he who slew him goes abroad in my father's chariot, and proudly bears in his bloody hands the sceptre with which he led the Greeks to war. And Agamemnon's dishonoured tomb has never yet received libation or branch of myrtle, and the altar is bare of offerings.' (If this is so, that is Electra's fault. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus could hardly be expected to leave flowers. Aeschylus' play owes its name to the fact that Electra and the chorus were carrying libations to Agamemnon's tomb.) 'And my mother's fine husband, sodden with drink, dances on the grave, so they say, and pelts my father's tomb with stones, and dares to utter this taunt against us: "Where is your son Orestes? Does he come to Argos like a brave man and protect your tomb?" Thus is Orestes in his absence insulted. Stranger, I beseech you, tell him this.'

(This horrible story about Aegisthus is not one that we are intended to believe. Electra herself only gives it as a matter of gossip. She has probably only invented it that minute as a last despairing effort to goad the absent Orestes into action.)

The farmer now returns, welcomes the strangers warmly, and shows himself to be the only gentleman present, and Orestes underlines this in a delicious speech in which he remarks that a gentlemanly character and high birth do not always go together, and that Electra's husband is a gentleman, worthy to entertain himself and the absent Orestes.

He and his followers then go in. It is obvious that Orestes has no intention of revealing himself to the impetuous Electra, and that his hand can only be forced if he is recognised. How is this recognition—a very important part of the old legend—to be brought about? Any attentive playgoer will have already guessed from the hint dropped by Electra that the old *trophos* who had smuggled the infant Orestes out of Argos must be brought on the stage, and the farmer is promptly sent off to fetch him.

This ends Act I. A chorus follows which was (as we know from the *Frogs*) sung to elaborate music full of 'runs,' and Aristophanes makes great game of what was apparently an innovation. What he would have said to 'Every valley shall be exalted,' I do not know.

One must suppose that Euripides' choruses were intended to serve as a relief from tension. We know that Euripides was an innovator in music as in everything else, and I suggest that the *Parodos*, being vital to the play, is sung by the *κορυφαῖος* solo as a simple recitative, while the elaborate choral singing with complicated runs is confined to the *Stasima*. This type of music makes the words subordinate to the tune, and we consequently get choruses which are a break in the action of the play instead of an integral part of it, as they are in Aeschylus. Whether this theory is right or not as to the style of music used, the editors are surely wrong in assigning the *Parodos* to the full chorus instead of to the *κορυφαῖος*. The use of the first person singular in lines 168 and 191 seems decisive.

The *Stasimon* over, the old man arrives, laden with good food and drink. He is very old, very tottery, very ragged, and distinctly comic even when he is ghoulish. Von Schlegel is quite right in maintaining that the old man is ineffective, but quite wrong in thinking that Euripides did not know it. Euripides has a very definite and malicious reason for making him what he is. The old man has called at Agamemnon's tomb on the way, and found a sheep offered on the altar, and a lock of yellow hair left as a votive offering, and he has jumped to the conclusion that this must have been done by Orestes (as of course it has), and he is going to produce one after another all Aeschylus' means of identification, only to have them torn to bits by the prosaic Electra. I am afraid there is no doubt about it; the old man is meant to recall Aeschylus, and I do not think it inconceivable that the mask-maker has seen to it that he shall be recognised.

I translate this passage (518) in full.

*Trophos.* 'No, I expect your brother has come secretly and done reverence to your poor father's tomb. But look at the hair. Put it by yours, and see if the colour of the severed tress is the same, for usually children of the same father are much alike.'

*Electra.* 'What you say is not worthy of a wise man, old man, if you think that my bold brother would come to this land secretly in fear of Aegisthus.' (How neatly Electra labels Orestes a poltroon!) 'Again, how can a gentleman's hair grown in the wrestler's style match a lady's long-combed tresses? Oh, it is impossible. And you find many curls of plume identical' (Aeschylus' very words) 'even though their owners were no blood-kin, old man. No, that lock was either cut by some stranger in pity for the grave, or secretly in the darkness by some native of the land.'

*Tr.* 'But put your slipper in his footprint, and see if it does not match your foot, my child.'

*El.* 'But how could craggy ground show the impression of a foot? And even if this were possible, how could the feet of a brother and sister be the same, if they were grown man and grown woman? The man's is bigger.'

*Tr.* 'But supposing your brother really was there, is there no means by which you could recognise the produce of your loom, which he wore when I stole him away?'

*El.* 'Don't you know that when Orestes was exiled, I was still young? And even if I had been weaving cloaks, how could he, who then was a child, have the same cloak now, unless his clothes were to grow along with his body?'

*Tr.* 'But where are the strangers? I want to see them and ask them about your brother.'

*El.* 'Here they come hurrying from the house.'

*Tr.* 'Well, they're gentlefolk. But some gentlefolk are base metal, for many gentlemen born are scoundrels. But I bid the strangers good-day.'

*Or.* 'Good-day, old man. Electra, who on earth of your friends owns this old wreck?' (I think this speech justifies the old man's doubt of Orestes' true gentility. Weil's note is, 'en style noble on aurait dit *ἀνδρὸς εἰδωλον* au lieu de *ἀνδρὸς λείψανον*.')

Orestes is then quickly recognised, partly owing to a scar on his eyebrow. The rejoicings do not last long. The bloodthirsty but irresolute Orestes turns to 'the old wreck' for advice as to Aegisthus' murder. His hopes of help from Argos are dashed to the ground, and he is told to rely on himself. He agrees at once that any attempt made in the palace itself would be prevented by the body-guard (a palpable hit at Aeschylus), but on hearing that Aegisthus is offering sacrifice close by he hopes to be invited to join in the sacrifice, and so to get his opportunity. Detestable as this treachery is, there is worse to come. Clytemnestra will not be with him: how is she to be enticed to her doom? Electra's invention does not fail her.

*El.* 'Old man, go and tell Clytemnestra this: bring her the news that I have been brought to bed of a man child.'

*Tr.* (Without turning a hair) 'Some time ago, or just lately?'

*El.* 'Ten days ago: to-day is the sacrifice of purification.'

*Tr.* 'But how does that bring death on your mother?'

*El.* 'She will come when she hears that I have been in travail.'

*Tr.* 'Why? Do you think she cares for you, child?'

*El.* 'Oh yes. And she will weep for the low estate of my babe.' (Now we know why Euripides made Electra a wife.)

All three in turn invoke heaven's blessing on their enterprise, and Orestes, Pylades, and their slaves leave the stage, guided by the old man, to find Aegisthus. Electra, almost crazed with murderous fears, is left sitting on the stage, sword in hand, ready to kill herself if Orestes fails.

The strain of this act is relieved by a chorus about Aërope. As the music

ceases a distant shouting is heard, and Electra leaps to her feet, threatening in despair to kill herself, when a messenger enters announcing the death of Aegisthus. Once more Orestes is to be condemned by an enthusiastic admirer. There was no element in the murder that was not vile. Aegisthus had courteously invited the strangers to share in the sacrifice. By a ready lie Orestes avoided the ceremonial washing which would have made it impossible even for him to kill his host, and then hit him in the back with a butcher's chopper as he stooped over the sacrifice. Aegisthus was only attended by slaves, who promptly joined the victor, as the old man had promised Orestes they would.

Electra, delirious with joy, sends the leader of the chorus into the house for chaplets for the visitors' brows, and when Orestes and Pylades come in covered with blood and attended by the slaves carrying the corpse of Aegisthus, she crowns them both. The speech (907-956) in which she vents on Aegisthus' corpse the crazy hate which she had not dared to utter in his lifetime is horrible but intensely effective.

The ensuing dialogue (ll. 962-987) tears every last shred of excuse from the murderers. Electra never needed an oracle to turn her into a matricide; Orestes believes the oracle to be a device of the devil, but he goes in to commit the murder rather than be called a coward. His superstitious terror of the Furies springs from no moral sense of guilt.

The crisis of the play is now upon us. Clytemnestra has received the news of the birth of a grandson, and her cortège halts at the foot of the steps leading up from the orchestra to the stage. If the climax is not to be an anticlimax, the second murder must be more brutal than the first, and our sympathies must be more strongly with Clytemnestra than Aegisthus; but I can only outline how this result is achieved. There is one notable variation from Aeschylus' story. Aeschylus' Agamemnon returned to find Clytemnestra already an adulteress, and resolved to murder him. Euripides' Clytemnestra declares that the sacrifice of Iphigenia would not by itself have driven her to kill Agamemnon. The crowning insult was the introduction of Cassandra into her house as concubine. The guilty association with Aegisthus followed on this.

Euripides (like Plato) believed in the equality of the sexes (a most unpopular doctrine at Athens), and Clytemnestra makes her point well. 'If Menelaus had been secretly stolen away from his home, ought I to have killed Orestes to save my sister's husband Menelaus? And would your father have endured that?' She is quite right; all Athens would have approved his action if he had killed his wife under these circumstances.

Electra is given free leave to reply, but can find no fresh crimes except that her mother had combed her hair in front of a mirror when Agamemnon was hardly out of the house on his way to Troy, and did not want him to come back.

Clytemnestra is a truly tragic figure; her reply (l. 1102) to Electra's tirade seems to me most touching in its dignified simplicity. 'Child, it is your nature to love your father ever and always. It's true enough; some children are devoted to their fathers, and some love their mothers more. But I can forgive you, for indeed, my child, what I did brought little joy. Alas for my schemes! I went too far in my anger with my husband.' The mother who never forgave her husband for sacrificing Iphigenia to his ambition is wonderfully patient with Electra, and at last takes her into the house to offer sacrifice for her new-born child, dismissing her attendants with orders to return 'when the sacrifice is over.'

The Chorus' song is interrupted by Clytemnestra's death-cry, and almost immediately the doors open and the slaves bear out the two dead bodies. The murderers follow. Orestes is overcome with horror for what he has done, and even Electra shows signs of remorse; but their chief anxiety is for themselves. Orestes is afraid that every city will be barred to him, and Electra that no one will marry her.

If the *Electra* were an English play the corpses would be carried into the

house by the actors, and the Chorus would march off keening a dirge; but the Athenians gave hemlock to contumacious heretics, and so Castor and Pollux appear, to make the best of a bad job. They condemn the murders as far as they dare.

‘Clytemnestra’s fate is just, but it should not have been at your hands. And Phoebus is Phoebus; but he is my king, and I am dumb. Wise though he is, his oracle to you was not wise.’

Electra is to marry Pylades (it is certainly most appropriate that she should pair off with the second murderer), and Orestes is to be acquitted by the holy court of Areopagus. Orestes and Electra embrace and separate, and the Dioscuri depart to help the Athenian expedition to Sicily.

This, as I read it, is the meaning of Euripides’ *Electra*. Whether it is a good play or not is a different question. I have confined myself to trying to prove that it is a well-constructed coherent whole. The proof of the play is in the acting. If it could be produced with Sybil Thorndyke as Electra, Violet Vanbrugh as Clytemnestra, Ernest Milton as Orestes, Arthur Bouchier as the Peasant, and Ben Field as the Old Man, we should then be in a position to judge of the dramatic effectiveness of Euripides’ *Electra* as I understand it. This would not, of course, prove that I am right; but I hazard the guess that those actors would prefer to give the reading of the characters which I have supported.

E. T. ENGLAND.

## THE ART OF PLATO.

*A paper read to the London Branch of the Classical Association on February 24, 1926.*

ναὶ μὴν καὶ χρύσειον αἰεὶ θείοιο Πλάτωνος  
κλῶνα, τὸν ἐξ ἀρετῆς πάντοθε λαμπόμενον.

IT is part of the amazing achievement of Plato to have left hardly less mark on the world’s literature than on the world’s thought. To this end his environment and early training contributed, along with a strong poetic sense, a wide range of interests in philosophic and in social problems, and an exceptional gift for observing and recording the workings of human personality. I shall here dwell chiefly on this latter aspect of his work.

Plato was born in Athens two years after the death of Pericles. He was born into the artistic and literary inheritance of the age of Pericles; the Parthenon had been finished some ten years earlier; Sophocles was at the height of his powers. And he was born into the actualities and transitional emotions of the Peloponnesian War. Euripides’ first tragedy appeared four years before, Aristophanes’ first comedy actually in, the year of Plato’s birth. He grew up to young manhood amid the atmosphere of Attic tragedy and Old Comedy; he was just over twenty when the two great tragedians died and the *Frogs* was produced. These literary surroundings of his youth must have affected his development on that side as surely as the later events of the war (he was thirteen at the time of the Sicilian disaster) left their mark on his political thought.

As a young aristocrat, Plato must have received every advantage of the usual Athenian education. His descriptions of contemporary μουσική and γυμναστική, in the *Republic*, are no doubt true to his own experience. His many quotations from Homer, not only in the critical passages of *Republic* II. and III., but coming in aptly at any moment, witness to the background of all his literary studies. He quotes frequently from lyric poets; not so frequently from tragedy. The *Republic* illustrates his familiarity with the stage-craft of his day. He had a considerable knowledge of music and a high appreciation of the plastic arts. As Professor Murray says (of his life in general), ‘his whole being lay ἐν τῷ καλῷ.’

We would give much for some direct testimony of Plato's own about his early studies, but this is denied us. The *Letters*, even if genuine, do not help us at all to know Plato on the artistic side; and in the Dialogues his personality is persistently hidden behind that of Socrates. Contemporary references, whether fragments preserved from the comic poets or innuendoes of Isocrates, are not numerous; and they centre chiefly on the mature philosopher, the head of the Academy. The tradition preserved in the philosophic schools and recorded in particular by Diogenes Laertius (in the second century A.D.) must be taken as it stands and made the most of. Many of Diogenes' anecdotes of Plato are obviously no more than gossip or pious fabrication. But there is nothing inherently improbable in what he tells us of the earlier years.

As Diogenes quotes the testimony of Dicaearchus, Plato early tried painting, and wrote poems—dithyrambs first, then lyrics and tragedies. He was about to produce a tragedy, and then *Σωκράτους ἀκούσας κατέφλεξε τὰ ποιήματα*. 'Having heard Socrates, he burnt his poems.' The dramatic and hortatory value of such an incident is obvious. As for its truth, Professor Burnet points out that Plato could not have grown up in Athens without knowing *about* Socrates from his childhood, and within the aristocratic circle would probably have had early chances of meeting him. But it seems quite possible that this edifying incident in Diogenes may trace back to some sudden decision on Plato's part, under the spell of that wonderful personality, to turn his back on the Muse, and as a disciple of Socrates to join once for all the search for knowledge. That he did make some such 'great refusal' seems likely from the absence of any tradition of poetic works of his within the Academy itself, where all his prose work, genuine or reputed, seems to have been carefully preserved.

It is probable, however, that we have within the Anthology a few specimens of Plato's own work in a most charming form of poetry. Some of the epigrams bearing the name belong to other and later Platos; some of the rest are manifestly not the philosopher's work. But among the very possibly genuine few there are some beautiful things. I give myself the delight of quoting three, with Dr. Mackail's translation:

- (1) *Αἱ Χάριτες τέμενός τι λαβεῖν ὅπερ οὐχὶ πεσεῖται  
ζητοῦσαι ψυχὴν ἥνρον Ἀριστοφάνους.*

—'The Graces, seeking to take a sanctuary that will not fall, found the soul of Aristophanes.'—A graceful tribute from one poet to another.

- (2) One of the most perfect in *form* of short Greek epigrams:

*Ἄστὴρ πρὶν μὲν ἔλαμπες ἐνὶ ζῳοῖσιν Ἐφῶς,  
νῦν δὲ θανὼν λάμπεις Ἑσπερος ἐν φθιμένοις.*

—'Morning Star that once did shine among the living, now deceased thou shinest the Evening Star among the dead.'

- (3) On the Eretrian exiles in Persia:

*Οἶδε ποτ' Αἰγαίοιο βαρύβρομον οἶδμα λιπόντες  
Ἐκβατάνων πεδίῳ κείμεθα μεσσατίῳ.  
χαῖρε κλυτὴ ποτε πατρίς Ἑρέτρια, χαῖρετ' Ἀθῆναι  
γείτονες Εὐβοίης, χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη.*

—'We who of old left the booming surge of the Aegean lie here in the mid-plain of Ecbatana: fare thou well, renowned Eretria once our country, farewell Athens nigh to Euboea, farewell dear sea.'

I know nothing in Greek poetry more moving than this cadence of sound, passing from the boom of the Aegean to the wide bare spaces of the inland plain—then the repeated farewells and the sobbing refrain of the exiles—*χαῖρε θάλασσα φίλη*.



Whoever wrote these epigrams was a true poet: and we may reasonably believe that Plato wrote them.

For the great majority of his prose work Plato chose the dialogue form. It is very probable that herein he was influenced not only by the desire to perpetuate the method of Socrates and his group, but also by the literary example of the Sicilian 'mime' or dialogue of ordinary life. Diogenes makes a point of Plato's admiration for, and indebtedness to, Epicharmus, and gives quotations from the Sicilian poet's rough-running trochaics and iambics to point the resemblances between his sentiments, often quasi-philosophical, and Plato's. He also says that Plato introduced at Athens the prose mimes of Sophron. Apart, however, from this general resemblance of setting, I hope to show that Plato's real affinities lie much rather with the native Athenian dramatists, the masters in tragedy and in comedy.

The question of Plato's philosophical theory and its development lies outside the scope of this paper. But the fact, now generally admitted, that his theory *did* develop and change considerably, seems to me important even for the appraising of his purely literary characteristics. There is nothing static about Plato's thought. Though its ultimate object of contemplation may be *οὐσία*—changeless eternal Being—its own quality is rather *γένεσις*—a process as ceaseless as the Heraclitean flux of phenomena, as dynamic as life itself. Dialectic proceeds, for him, *τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναρπύουσα*—destroying ever to create nearer to the truth. And the written works show not only a gradual unfolding of theory, but also a considerable variety of emphasis and of mood. No one dialogue is entirely ethical, entirely metaphysical, entirely political; but such interests do predominate in turn. The tone, again, is now light and easy, now deeply earnest, now strenuously dialectical and abstract.

The choice of the dialogue form gives particular scope for conveying these varieties of interest and of mood. Socrates is the central figure in all but the latest works; but his companions vary from one dialogue to another. The number introduced varies, again, from a simple duologue like the *Euthyphro*, *Crito* or *Phaedrus* to a large gathering (including several actual speakers) as in the *Protagoras*, *Republic* or *Phaedo*. The scene, where it is indicated, varies too; Socrates meets his friends in a public street or stoa (as in the *Meno*); on the banks of the Ilissus (as in the *Phaedrus*); in a citizen's house or garden, whether in Athens (*Protagoras*) or down at Piraeus (*Republic*); at a banquet (*Symposium*); in a gymnasium (*Euthydemus*, *Charmides*); or, lastly, they come to him in his prison (in the *Crito* and the *Phaedo*). Whether the scenes be historic, as the last two probably are, or imaginary, such different groupings and meeting-places convey the impression of naturalness and spontaneity.

Again, though Socrates is normally the chief speaker and leads the argument, it is never a preconceived dissertation, merely punctuated by the bystanders, that he is made to give. It might easily have been that and nothing more. But rather he, too, is represented as *γυγνόμενος*, developing his position as he goes along. Either he evolves his solution of the problem helped by criticism or suggestion from the other members of the group—so in the *Phaedo* or *Republic*; or where, as in the *Gorgias*, he rather maintains his fixed view against opposition and attack, still the position develops, for it becomes stronger and more striking as his antagonists withdraw defeated.

Thus it is the interplay of human personalities that forms the central theme of all Plato's work. His philosophy rests, after all, on the foundation laid by Socrates—the belief that a man finds wisdom within himself and his friends, and that the *ὁμολογία* resultant from the interchange of reasoned opinions is the safest hypothesis on which to build higher; and in his furthest soarings into the region of pure Being, Plato seems never to have lost this sense of the rights of personality,

the need of satisfying not only ourselves but each other. The Socrates behind whom he hides his own personality is himself an instrument in the hands of truth. 'Think little of Socrates, but far more of truth,' he bids his friends in the *Phaedo*; and truth comes, first at least, of the contact between mind and mind.

Resting on this basis of theory, Plato's art becomes in practice *dramatic*, in the strictest sense. It is the art of representing a *δράμα*, a thing done—an action taking place between different persons, if not through physical movement, yet just as really and effectively through the interchange of ideas—*more* really and effectively thus, from Plato's point of view.

If Plato was partly indebted to the mime-writers in his choice of dialogue form, he shows independence in the actual manner of presentation. At one time he uses the direct dramatic form, as in the *Euthyphro*, *Gorgias* and *Theaetetus*; at another he gives a conversation reported, whether at first hand, as in the *Republic*, or at second-hand, as in *Parmenides* or *Symposium*. Or again we find the more complex structure in which, within a dramatic setting, a discussion is reported. This form is used in the *Phaedo*, where Phaedo meets Echecrates and tells of the last conversation of Socrates, and in the *Euthydemus*, where Socrates tells Crito of his encounter with the Great Twin Brethren of sophistry. A dramatic passage between Socrates and a friend also stands as formal introduction to the *Protagoras*.

Attempts have been made to use the distinction between dramatic and narrative dialogues as a basis for chronological or other division of Plato's work. I do not think any such division can be usefully worked out. The dramatic form is suited to strict and close argument, and therefore appropriately appears in most of the later and more abstract dialogues. But the *Parmenides*, in some ways the most austere of them all, is a narrative within a narrative; and, on the other hand, several of the simplest early dialogues, such as *Crito* and *Laches*, are in dramatic form. Probably Plato chose his form merely according to his mood, and to some extent according to the scope of the work in hand. Obviously the narrative form, allowing of scene-setting and descriptive touches, is better adapted to convey personal interest; so this form is naturally chosen for the main part of the *Phaedo*, or of the *Protagoras* with its portrait-sketches of the sophists. We may well wish that the *Gorgias* were in the same form; but perhaps Plato wished there to subordinate personal traits to the earnest moral argument in which Socrates engages. The opening of the *Phaedrus*, with its charming setting of the walk by the river and rest on the grass beneath the plane-tree, shows Plato's skill in conveying a background, through speech only, in a purely dramatic passage.

It is in the complex dialogues, as we may call them—where a dramatic framework encloses a narrative—that Plato has the greatest scope for setting out his drama of human ideas. An example is the *Euthydemus*, a dialogue which is not very widely read, but extremely interesting from our present point of view.

The *Euthydemus* has been called a 'dramatic satire'; and its arrangement in five main scenes has been generally recognised; but its structure is worth working out in detail.

*Prologue.*—The dramatic setting is a chance meeting between Socrates and his friend Crito. The latter asks, 'Whom were you talking to yesterday in the Lyceum?' Socrates proceeds to tell him.

*Scene I.*—Socrates, as he tells the story, encounters the two Chian sophists, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus, in a room of the gymnasium, and introduces his young friend Cleinias as desirous of learning. The sophists seize at the opportunity to show off their powers, and turn on the youth with the confusing question, 'Do the wise learn, or the ignorant?' They promise Socrates that 'whichever answer the boy gives he will be proved wrong.' This is fulfilled, and Cleinias is reduced to perplexity.

*Scene II.*—Socrates intervenes, and himself demonstrates, in talk with Cleinias, that wisdom can be taught, and that it alone makes a man happy. He

takes his own familiar line, encouraging the boy, and seeking with him for truth on a practical issue.

*Scene III.*—The sophists now turn upon Socrates; and he and Ctesippus (an admirer of Cleinias) are put through a series of eristical arguments. For instance: (1) To be no more what one was is to be no more—that is, to be dead; (2) to lie is impossible, since one cannot speak what is not. The fallacies are all matters of logic, and are worth attention; but the sophists use them frivolously, and merely for victory in debate.

*Scene IV.*—Socrates again takes the lead, and inquires, along with Cleinias, 'What is the art or knowledge that can make life happy?' Once again his subject is of practical interest, and is seriously discussed; and Cleinias is encouraged, though no positive result is reached.

*Interlude.*—The main dialogue is here resumed. Crito interposes, and he and Socrates for a while discuss the same question—What is the art of happy life? Socrates then continues his story.

*Scene V.*—Euthydemus and Dionysodorus again attack Socrates and Ctesippus with more eristical subtleties. Specimens are: (1) He who is other than a particular father cannot be a father. (2) Your dog, being a father, is your father. (3) If hammering on an anvil is fitting action for a smith, then it is fitting to hammer the smith on an anvil—and similarly to roast the cook, and so on. The fallacies here turn merely on the use of words, or even on ambiguities of syntax. Socrates and Ctesippus parry the sophists on their own ground; but at last Ctesippus gives up in disgust. Socrates ironically congratulates them, and remarks that their wit is self-destructive.

*Epilogue.*—When Socrates has finished his story, Crito remonstrates with him for talking to such persons, and quotes the criticisms of a well-wisher, whose position 'between politics and philosophy' they briefly discuss. Finally, Crito expresses anxiety about the education of his own sons. Socrates reassures him; good teachers are always in the minority, but if philosophy is itself a good thing, it must by all means be pursued.

The balance of the arrangement of this dialogue is admirable. We have not only the dramatic prologue and epilogue, but also an interlude, coming in before the climax of the narrative. In the five scenes the sophists and Socrates lead alternately. The sophists demonstrate in Scene I. their purely self-regarding and destructive attitude in debate; in Scene III., their use of fallacies which do require working out (and Aristotle mentions several of these examples in his *Sophistici Elenchi*); in Scene V., their frivolous use of common ambiguities of language—where, as Socrates keeps pointing out, everybody knows what is really meant. Socrates demonstrates in both his scenes his encouraging attitude to youth, his interest in practical matters, and his reliance on recognised *fact* rather than mere words. The whole dialogue, while it does not settle any point of argument, is a study in the contrast between two attitudes to life and two methods of education—the Sophistic and the Socratic.

The *Phaedo*, where the same complex structure (narrative within dramatic) appears, presents a contrast not only in mood and theme but also in the evolution of its form. If the *Euthydemus* is a clear-cut comedy, the *Phaedo* is a more subtly constructed tragedy. Here, by the more usual Platonic method, one topic gradually leads on to another. Socrates is cheerful before approaching death; for the philosopher may well be cheerful. Why? Because death is to him a consummation to be wished; he has already in this life 'practised dying.' But, says Cebes, how do we know that there is a future life at all? The main theme being reached, successive proofs of immortality are offered, and Socrates rounds off his argument and points his moral. A silence ensues; then Simmias and Cebes put their respective objections. Here the main dialogue is resumed, as Echecrates comments on the crisis and Phaedo tells of Socrates' cheerful demeanour. Then the discussion goes forward again, with first the demolition

of Simmias' harmony-theory, and then the crowning proof based on the Theory of Ideas. The argument is now concluded, though Simmias still has misgivings, for who dare claim certainty on such a matter? Now the tension of dialectic is replaced by the easy flow of description, as Socrates gives his picturesque imaginings about the undiscovered country. Thus an atmosphere of calm is prepared for the closing scene; and then Socrates at once reverts to his original point and passes to his own end: 'Therefore that man may well be fearless for his soul, who during life has let be the pleasures of the body, and devoting himself to those of the soul, has provided her with her proper adornment of virtue . . . and so is ready to take the journey whenever fate shall call. You, Simmias and Cebes, shall each of you, on another day in the future, go that way; as for me, at this moment to me—so a hero in a tragedy might put it—comes the call of fate; and it is time I went to the bath, for I had better bathe before drinking the draught, and save the women the trouble of washing my corpse.' Thus easily we pass from high philosophical solemnity to simple bodily concerns; and also tragically from mere speculation about immortality in general to the certainty of death for Socrates himself. That conclusion has, in fact, never been far out of sight during the whole dialogue; we hear its solemn *motif* in the repeated allusions to the passing of time, and in Socrates' own references to his imprisoned state; and by the amazing calm with which he can discuss the physical sequels of the death of the body, we are prepared for the temper in which he meets his own hour when it comes.

That closing scene forbids criticism or comment. But one last point may be noted in the dramatic quality of the *Phaedo*—namely, the calm and moderation of the final cadence: a summing up of the whole in one sentence and a 'dying fall,' by which we are led from the immediate tragedy of Socrates passing away to the abiding value of Socrates yet living for his friends. 'Nothing is here for grief.'

ἦδε ἡ τελευτή, ὃν Ἐχέκρατες, τοῦ ἑταίρου ἡμῖν ἐγένετο, ἀνδρός, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἂν, τῶν τότε ὧν ἐπειράθημεν ἀρίστου καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτου καὶ δικαιοτάτου.

'Such was the death, Echecrates, of our friend—a man, we may say, of all the men we have known in his time the best, ay, and the wisest and the most just.'

This is of the same quality as the close of an Attic tragedy. Compare the last lines of the *Oedipus at Colonus*:

ἀλλ' ἀποπαύετε μὴδ' ἐπὶ πλείῳ  
θρήνον ἐγείρετε·  
πάντως γὰρ ἔχει τάδε κῦρος.

'Come, cease lamentation; lift it up no more, for verily these things stand fast.'

So Milton closes *Samson Agonistes* in the same spirit:

'His servants he with new acquit  
Of true experience from this great event  
With peace and consolation hath dismiss'd,  
And calm of mind, all passion spent.'

The same dramatic method of natural development of the argument, with the same use of significant detail, is seen on a larger scale in the *Republic*. The talk with Cephalus leads to the topic of Justice; Justice sought in the large suggests the founding of the city; this leads on to the education of the guardians and to the analogous tripartite division of soul; and at the heart of the dialogue, in connexion with the higher education, appears the metaphysical passage on the Idea of the Good. The rise of the πόλις demands a treatment of its decline too, stage by stage; and the comparison of the just and the unjust life in point of happiness rounds off the argument. Book X., though an appendix, arises directly out of points in the main discussion; and here, again, the end is significant, and brings the whole together.

'Let us pursue justice . . . that we may be friends with ourselves and with the gods both while we abide here, and when we obtain the prizes of justice, like conquerors in the games collecting their trophies; and that, both here and in that journey of a thousand years which we have described, *we may fare well*.'

The *Republic* began with a casual journey—'I went down yesterday to the Piraeus'—and with mention of a torch-race, fit symbol for a treatise on human education. It ends with the prizes of justice, and with victors who throughout their long course, here and beyond, *fare well*. The work returns upon itself, as a Pindaric ode comes back to the hero's name.

Within such framework of dramatic setting Plato's detailed work has always its special value and appropriate place. Thus his characters, whether described or self-revealed, are human beings seen in action, mental if not physical; they stand out as living persons. The Socrates of the dialogues, whether historic or not—it matters little for our purpose—pervades the whole stage. No single description is needed for him. The nearest to it is found in Alcibiades' speech at the end of the *Symposium*—another splendidly dramatic effect, the wild entrance of the revellers following Socrates' sublime account of Heavenly Love. And Alcibiades' description of Socrates, one of Plato's most brilliant passages, is mainly a description of his effect upon others—an outstanding tribute to the force of a great personality.

The lesser persons too are vividly shown, often by a few touches. The sophists who appear in the *Protagoras* behave characteristically: Protagoras marching up and down the garden with his attendant troop; Hippias enthroned and laying down the law; Prodicus in the annexe, muffled up, his deep voice booming away. Gorgias, not visible because his dialogue is dramatic, is still felt as a personality behind his pompous rhythmic utterances. We meet headstrong persons like Polus, or the more objectionable Thrasymachus, or the rude Anytus; Simmias and Cebes, Glauco and Adeimantus, all earnest disputants, but varying in ability; eager youths like Hippocrates or Theaetetus; shy youths like Charmides or Cleinias; and the varied band of fellow-guests in the *Symposium*.

There is another field of characterisation in which Plato excels and also has wider scope—in the representation of imaginary persons, whether as ethical types or as part of a simile or parable. Take the long description of the philosopher in the *Theaetetus*—a man 'wholly unacquainted with his next-door neighbour'; hopelessly awkward in the law-courts or such places; 'he has nothing personal to say in answer to the civilities of his adversaries, for he knows no scandals of anyone, and they do not interest him,' for he is accustomed to view life on another plane. Then, by contrast, 'that narrow, keen little legal mind' of the worldly-wise—he is so clever in ordinary affairs, but when 'drawn into the upper air' and called upon to deal with general questions, 'he gives the philosopher his revenge.' The *Republic* also contains many such vignettes of human character; and they are specially noteworthy in Books VIII. and IX., where the types of degenerate man develop as the city of Mansoul declines and falls. 'The description of the democratic man as the chameleon of human society paints him for all time,' says Adam. The tyrannical man, in whose soul lust has become supreme, is the terrible climax of the series.

This individual method of portraying types of human character is of course used by Aristotle in the *Ethics*, and developed in charming detail by Theophrastus in the *Characters*. But both these later writers present the fixed type, the finished product; whereas with Plato the man is nearly always looked upon as *γυγνόμενος*—a character in process of formation. The frequent present participles convey the development of character, which is no static thing, but *moves*—for better or for worse. The *Republic* as a whole is a study of vital processes.

In his instinct for the simile and the metaphor Plato ranks among the poets. The scale ranges from finished pictures like that of the ship with happy-go-lucky skipper and mutinous crew, or (perhaps most famous of all philosophic parables)

the detailed description of the prisoners in the cave, down to neat non-human comparisons like that of Socrates to the paralysing torpedo-fish, or (more beautiful and suggestive) to the Silenus containing the likeness of a god. The soul in its bodily life resembles a sea-god's image encrusted with barnacles, and weeds, and stones. The composite nature of the human personality is likened to a strange creature compounded of man, lion, and many-headed beast. From such imaginings down to pictorial suggestions in a single word, the figurative use of language is dear to Plato.

The mythical passages bring out most fully these gifts of fertile imagination and rich style. Here Plato lets himself be a lyric poet in prose; and here later poets in verse draw inspiration from him. But he is still and always the dramatist. He prepares carefully for his myth, introduces it as tradition or fancy or set piece, and brings the conversation down near enough to earth again at the end. The myth of the soul in the *Phaedrus* is suggested playfully, at first, by Socrates as his *ἐπίδειξις* on the subject of Love. The myth of the future judgment and allotment of lives in Book X. of the *Republic* is recorded as the dream or vision of Er—a man of the East who might well have strange things to tell. The grand eschatology at the end of the *Gorgias*, with its earnest moral appeal, is introduced simply by Socrates as 'a story'; and at the end he says: 'This may seem to you an old wives' tale; but even if it were, to do wrong is worse than to suffer it.' So the long speech ends (Plato abandons conversation here for impressive and weighty effect) with advice to Callicles to be brave and stand for righteousness against the world. The closing words of this dialogue are again quiet and restrained.

Another kind of transition from sublimity appears in the *Republic*, Book VI., where, after Socrates has been soaring into a high-sounding passage describing the Good as 'above and beyond Being itself in dignity and power,' Glauco puts in 'very comically,' Ἀπολλων, δαιμονίας ὑπερβολῆς—'Lord save us, what amazing transcendency!' At once the tone falls to a more ordinary level. Plato is indeed fully alive to the lighter side of things; there is pure fun in the *Phaedrus*, the *Euthydemus*, the *Protagoras*, the *Republic*—and in some degree in almost every dialogue. With Socrates in the *Symposium* Plato would make us agree that the writing of tragedy and of comedy is the same man's gift; and in all his comic passages his muse is closely akin to the muse of Aristophanes. In such passages colloquialisms abound, and plays on words are everywhere frequent. There is often a neat jest on a proper name—as on Callias, οὐ καλῶς λέγεις, ὦ Καλλία; on Meletus and ἐπιμελεῖσθαι; on Gorgias, whose 'Gorgon's' head might turn a man to stone; on Polus, the 'colt' who is so spirited and fresh. In more serious moments we still find word-play—as when in the *Phaedo* Hades is made king of the τόπος ἀειδής, the unseen world. But such sport on words is most common in the lighter dialogues and episodes; and the *Euthydemus* is full of it. The *Cratylus* again shows what Plato could do with words when he chose to make fancies about them, and how much he enjoyed doing it.

In all his use of language, appropriateness is the main thing studied; thus the form of address ὦ φιλότῃς is used only in the erotic setting of the *Phaedrus*. The other chief motive seems to be desire for variety, which comes out charmingly in the choice of particles and of formulae of reply, and comes out distractingly in the choice of terms for conveying philosophic ideas.

The parody is another side of Plato's experiments with language, as of his humour. The sophists are all caricatured in turn; in the *Protagoras* Hippias, Prodicus (perhaps the neatest parody of all) and Protagoras himself; Gorgias with some good sounding periods; Isocrates with ornate assonances (such as λελυμένου and λελουμένου) in the *Republic* passage where he is clearly attacked. The greatest *tour de force* of all is the series of speeches in the *Symposium*, where Phaedrus the fanciful rhapsodist, Pausanias the rhetor, Eryximachus the doctor, Aristophanes the comic and Agathon the tragic poet, all speak in turn and all

characteristically. So Plato proves his own saying in the *Republic*—*εὐπλαστότερον κηροῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων λόγος*, 'Words are more plastic than wax or the like of wax.'

All these brilliant traits belong chiefly to the dialogues of Plato's young manhood and maturity. In the later works, as the influence of the personality of Socrates wears slighter, so the poetic fire dies down, and the vivacity alike of characterisation and of language is to a large extent lost. We have instead close and abstract argument or weighty didactic exposition. There is satire, as in the *Sophist*, but comparatively little humour; the *Theaetetus* shows the last out-flowering of that delightful gift. The rhythmic prose of the *Timaeus* is indeed a wonderful achievement—Plato's last *tour de force* of style—and its sustained weight and formality convey the oracular effect that is intended. The last paragraph is not only a repository of metaphysical doctrine, but a masterpiece of rhythm, with its ending—somehow Pindaric in quality—*εἰς οὐρανὸς ὅδε μονογενὴς ὤν*. But the most attractive piece of writing in the dialogue comes near the beginning, in Solon's reported tale of his visit to Egypt, where something of Plato's old ease and simplicity returns, and where we find those unforgettable words of the aged priest: 'ὦ Σόλων, Σόλων, Ἕλληνες αἰεὶ παῖδες ἔστε, γέρον δὲ Ἕλληνα οὐκ ἔστιν. 'You Greeks are ever children; there is no old man that is a Greek.'

The *Laws* is a work of old age and declining powers. The Athenian Stranger who dominates the dialogue is a poor successor to the Socrates of the earlier works. The staging of the tree-shaded road from Cnossus is perhaps meant as a sort of replica of the scene of the *Phaedrus*; but it is a faint and spiritless repetition. Dramatic sense is subordinated to didactic purpose, and in spite of the interest of its subject-matter the *Laws* becomes rather heavy reading. Here and there a passage shows some individuality, and chiefly when the old man's melancholy dominates, as when he makes the Athenian say (VII. 803b) that 'human affairs are not worth any great care, and yet we cannot help caring; there is the pity of it . . . man, as we said before, has been made as a sort of plaything for God—indeed, that fact is the noblest thing about him.' Again, there is the imagined address to the young man on his place in the universe (X. 903b, c), with a stern note often echoed by the Stoics: 'Yours, headstrong man, is one portion in the universe contributing and ever tending to the whole, tiny portion though it be; and herein you forget that . . . the whole does not exist for your sake, but you exist for the sake of the whole.' On such a note the cadence of Plato's own drama dies away.

The greatest men are somewhere inconsistent. The 'ancient feud between poetry and philosophy' has its real and serious side, and Plato sternly limits the admission of *μυμητική* into the city of wise men. That is his theory as a philosopher, but in his practice poetry, like the cheerfulness of Dr. Johnson's friend, will keep breaking in; and, above all, it is the instinct of the *dramatic* poet—that most dangerous *μυμητής*—which prompts the form of his most characteristic work. Again, in theory it is the lesser folk that are 'always talking about people, a thing by no means fitting for the philosopher to do.' But the principal of the Academy is a man of human sympathies, and might say, with his master, 'It is the men of the city who teach me things.' It is as poet and as humanist that Plato takes up his task of expounding truth; and his highest flights into the region of absolute Being start, like *ἔρως* itself, in the natural, richly suggestive interplay between one human personality and another.

DOROTHY TARRANT.

# The Classical Review

SEPTEMBER, 1926

## NOTES AND NEWS

THE following is an abridgement of a notice kindly written by Professor R. S. Conway :

‘Among the many British classical scholars of the last fifty years it will hardly be disputed that Sir William Ridgeway was the greatest, and perhaps the only one whom posterity will recognise as a great master and maker of knowledge like Darwin and Mommsen. About 1895 Henry Jackson said to me with deliberate earnestness: “Ridgeway is always right. He gets to the bottom of things. Of whom else can you say that?” His fearless enquiries emancipated classical study from a blind devotion to a few eminent Germans. His discoveries were fiercely resisted, but they passed current so soon that younger scholars, including some of his reviewers, assumed their truth and gave the author no thanks. That Homer’s horses were small enough to pull a wheelbarrow; that his fair Achaeans and Saffines came from mid-Europe, with the iron sword, round shield and greaves of Hallstatt, and sterner, northern morals; that the tunny, the silphium, the ox on early coins were not objects of worship but sound tokens of commerce; that the odes of drama were not adulterated dithyrambs to Dionysus but praises of the heroes, first danced out round their tombs: such things we now know, but it needed Ridgeway’s genius to discover them. Those of us whom it concerns that the great ancient writers be not represented as prone to run into nonsense, nor defended by venerable and incredible glosses, but understood as honestly dealing with the life that they knew, will always think of Ridgeway as a great interpreter and historian of the spirit of man.

‘His work is incomplete, though much of Vol. II. of *The Early Age of Greece* has long been in type; and no one knew better than he how much even Vol. I. stood to gain by an Index and Corri-

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genda, and by the review of some of its topics from a different standpoint. The chapters on Religion are an urgent need. Yet in the true sense the discoverer’s work is always incomplete; and in spite of weaker eyesight and a terrible bereavement Ridgeway continued to the end his heroic quest of truth.

‘Of the guidance and warm-hearted help which he gave, all through his life, to younger men; of his controversies, academic and political, worthy of his Devonian and Cromwellian ancestors, “all first-class fighting men”; of his inexhaustible Irish humour; of his eloquence, flashing in quick phrases, and leaping like a falcon tugging at the chain; of the hospitality which he and Lady Ridgeway loved to show at Fen Ditton; of his cordial acquaintance with all sorts and conditions of men, from jockeys to bishops: of such things I would gladly write if space were given; but nothing written could represent our loss to those who did not know him—a great adversary, a great friend, a great heart.’

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From a correspondent :

‘The name of Dr. J. P. Postgate deserves more than ordinary commemoration in this *Review*. When it was founded in 1887 he took an active part in its promotion. He was its Editor from 1898 until 1906, when the *Classical Quarterly* was started. He then elected to take up the chief Editorship of the *C.Q.*, which he held until 1910. How exacting both offices are, what patience, judgment, and tact their due performance requires, is hardly known to any who have not had personal experience of them.

‘Throughout that period, as also before and after it, he was a frequent and valued contributor to the *C.R.* His first article was an appeal for the reformed pronunciation of Latin, which he lived to see accepted; his last ap-

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peared only a few months ago. Not only, however, among readers of the Classical journals, but wherever the faith and love of the Classics exist, he must be remembered as one of the chief originators of the Classical Association, and, indeed, its founder, so far as that name can be given to any single scholar, though Professor Sonnenschein, who is still with us, shared with him the first active steps in its formation. When Postgate resigned secretaryship of the C.A. in 1906, he was spoken of as "the father of the Association," and one "who had done more work for it than any other member."

'Space does not permit here of giving any list, still less any weighed appreciation, of Postgate's published contributions to scholarship, including the new *Corpus Poetarum Latinorum*, produced under his editorship, and his texts, with critical commentaries, of Phaedrus and Propertius. But one may be mentioned as not generally accessible: the masterly and stimulating essay, *Flaws in Classical Research*, printed in the Proceedings of the British Academy for 1908. It deserves republication.

'On retiring from the Chair of Latin at Liverpool in 1920, he returned to live in Cambridge, and had leisure to produce much of his most valuable work, the distilled product of a lifetime of accurate study: his *Translation and Translations, Theory and Practice* (1922), his *Prosodia Latina* (1923), his *Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek* "*in usum doctorum*" (1924), and his Presidential Address to the Classical Association in 1925, *Classics To-day*—admirable both as a sketch of the actual position and as a summary of the work calling to be done, which is, in one word, the application of intelligence to scholarship.

'The accident by which he met his death last July happened to a man of seventy-three, who persisted in retaining the energy and endeavouring to retain the activity of youth. His mind had not grown old. For many colleagues or pupils the memory of him which remains is not only of a fine scholar but of a good friend and a very lovable man.'

*The Manchester Guardian* of June 19th contained the preliminary announcement of a discovery of some interest to readers of the *Classical Review*. For it was the *Classical Review* which in 1910 (p. 76) published an inscription, whose discovery had previously been announced in *The Times*, proving a close association of the gods Zeus and Hermes in the cult of the Trogitis region, which lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra; and pointed out the bearing of this discovery on the story narrated in *Acts of the Apostles*, ch. 14. In May of the present year an expedition (Professor Calder, Mr. Buckler, and Mr. Pares) working under the auspices of the American Society for Archaeological Research in Asia Minor found a monument which bears still more intimately on the identification of Paul and Barnabas with Hermes and Zeus by the Lycaonian *ἑχλαιοί* of Lystra. This was an altar (unfortunately mutilated) belonging to Lystra itself, dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to . . . and to Hermes.' Whether we restore *Διὶ* in the second place, or treat the Epēkoos ('the god who hearkens to prayer') as an hypostasis of the supreme god in the local cult of Lystra, this inscription proves for Lystra itself the association of Hermes with Zeus which, according to *Acts*, found expression when the two Apostles visited the town.

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From Professor R. S. Conway:

'Readers of the *Review* who are not also readers of *Discovery* may like to know that the July number of that periodical contains an excellent photograph (kindly sent me by Professor Paribeni, Curator of the Museo delle Terme) of the newly discovered—or, more strictly, newly identified—fragment of the Consular Fasti, with a preliminary and non-technical account of its outstanding features. Except for marginal breaks it exactly fills the gap in Tabula III. (see *C.I.L.* I., ed. 2 *ad fin.*), which is now almost completely in our hands. The block gives the official list of consuls and censors between 278 and 269 B.C. in its left-hand column, and those between 214 and 207 in its right-hand column;

the last complete line, however, contains the names of the consuls for 208, Marcellus and Crispinus. To the name of Crispinus a later hand has added *ex uol* [m. c.].—i.e., *ex uolneribus mortuus est*; but since Marcellus was (according to Livy 27. 27) killed in the same reconnaissance as that in which Crispinus was wounded, the absence of any such note from the name of Marcellus—and the later date of the addition in the case of Crispinus—raises an interesting question as to the reason for the absence. It may be, as I have suggested in *Discovery*, that the only reason for the omission was that the event took place so near the end of 208 that no new consuls were *suffecti*; but an editor of Livy's text must not queer the pitch of a nice problem for the professional historians, from whom he is anxious to learn more of the possibilities of the case.'

From Dr. W. Rhys Roberts:

'The *Classical Review* is to be congratulated on the two literary articles which form its special July number; and it is much to be hoped that the Branches of the Classical Association may be able to increase the circulation of the *Review*, so that welcome innovations of this kind may be multiplied. *Apròpos* of Mr. E. T. England's paper: is it not the case that not only Euripides but Sophocles (in his lost early plays) sometimes made fun of Aeschylus? How else are we to explain ὁ Σοφοκλῆς . . . τὸν Αἰσχύλου διαπεπαιχῶς ὄγκον in Plutarch, *Mor.* 79B, where διαπεπαιχῶς can hardly mean no more than 'imitate,' though that is the translation usually found in modern Histories of Greek Literature? In his early *Triptolemus* Sophocles wrote ἀπυνδάκωτος οὐ τραπεζοῦται κύλιξ ('a cup unbased is not intabulated'), where the meaning is 'a cup without a bottom is not placed upon a table' (Demetr. *de Eloc.*, § 114). May this bombastic line, which might well seem inconceivable anywhere in a Sophoclean tragedy, have been put, with Aeschylus in mind, in the mouth of some minor character (a drunken servitor, say, from Oenotria; his may be the lines ἦλθεν δὲ δαῖς θάλεια

πρεσβίστη θεῶν and θεὸς δ' ἐν φρενὶς δέλτοισι τοὺς ἐμούς λόγους) resembling the Φύλαξ in the *Agamemnon*, whose proverbial wisdom appears in βούς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας βέβηκεν? And may not such lines, divorced from their context and the homely characters who utter them, have led Graeco-Roman critics to tax, as they do, Sophocles with occasional lapses from his usual dignity? That Sophocles was far from shunning the literary allusiveness, playful or hostile, which pervades Greek writers may be inferred from the use (cp. *C.R.* XVIII. 19) of εὐέπεια, in his *Oed. Tyr.* 932, with direct reference to a catchword of contemporary stylists such as Gorgias. Surely εὐέπεια does not there, and there alone, mean εὐφημία, "fair greeting." The new word filled the air in the later years of Sophocles' long life, and had but one sense.'

From a Newcastle correspondent:

'A glance at the volumes of the Classical Association's *Proceedings* reveals the fact that few local Branches of the Association meet after March of each year. Visits during the early summer to places of archaeological interest in the district can, however, be made a pleasant and very valuable close to a year's programme, and most Branches, under modern conditions of travel, will have access to such over a fairly wide area. In this respect the Northumberland and Durham Branch has been taking full advantage of the opportunities offered by a district so rich in historical and archaeological material. For the past three years officially organised excursions have been made; in 1924 and 1925 the chief camps along the line of Hadrian's Wall were visited, and this summer camps north of the Wall, along the line of the "Watling Street," were inspected, including Habitancum and Bremenium. Full explanation by competent guides and free discussion among members and friends have made these experiments a great success.'

We offer a hearty welcome to *Speculum*, the quarterly organ of the newly founded Mediaeval Academy of America. The purpose of this academy is to

conduct and encourage research and instruction in all departments of the arts, letters, and life of the Middle Ages. The President is Professor Rand of Harvard, whose own work illustrates the close interrelation of Classical and Mediaeval studies. From the office of the Academy, Room 312, 248, Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts, information will be sent to any person who may be interested in the work of the Academy, or may wish to apply for membership.

The Prime Minister's presidential address to the Classical Association has received the honour of a version in the April number of the *Bulletin de*

*l'Association Guillaume Budé*. It is a pleasure to read it again, in excellent French. The following article, in melancholy contrast, describes *La mort prochaine des humanités en France*. But they will not die. *Τίς οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὃ κέκληται θανεῖν* ;

THE Classical Association will meet in Manchester from the 7th to the 9th of October. On Friday, the 8th, at 5.30 p.m., in the University, it will listen to the Presidential Address of the Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart of Bury. Among distinguished guests who will read papers are Professors Rand of Harvard and Jaeger of Berlin.

## ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΙΒΑΝΤΩΝ.

### PART II.

IN my previous article I dealt with the subject of *ἀλίβαντες* in general; I pass now to the restoration of an ancient story in which the activities of one famous reanimated *ἀλίβας* are described.

The story as told by Pausanias runs briefly thus: During Odysseus' wanderings he touched at the town of Temesa in South Italy, where one of his comrades, during a fit of drunkenness, violated a girl and was stoned to death by the townsfolk. Odysseus apparently sailed away without stopping to bury him—glad to escape from death with the loss of another dear comrade. But the dead man reappeared, and committed such havoc in the town that the inhabitants thought of evacuating it. The oracle of Delphi however bade them stay, and appease the dead man by erecting a hero's shrine for him and giving him annually the most beautiful girl of the town in marriage. By this means peace was established, and continued for centuries, subject to the continuance of the marriage custom, until Euthymos, the famous boxer, happened to arrive in the town on the very day when the custom was being observed. He went to the shrine, fell in love with the girl who was awaiting the coming of the hero, and ob-

tained her promise to marry him if he should deliver her from him. So Euthymos engaged with the hero on his arrival, and having defeated him delivered the girl and the whole town out of his power.

So much for the outline of the story, by way of indication that it contains promising material; for the purpose of restoring certain details however I must append our present text of Pausanias and Suidas' *précis* of the same story.

### PAUSANIAS VI. 6. 7-II.

Ἐπανήκων δὲ ἐς Ἱταλίαν, τότε δὴ ἐμαχέσατο πρὸς τὸν Ἡρω. τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν εἶχεν οὕτως. Ὀδυσσεῖα πλανώμενον μετὰ ἄλωσιν τὴν Ἰλίου κατενεχθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ ἀνέμων ἐς τε ἄλλας τῶν ἐν Ἱταλίᾳ καὶ Σικελίᾳ πόλεων, ἀφικέσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐς Τεμέσαν ὁμοῦ ταῖς ναυσί· μεθυσθέντα οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἓνα τῶν ναυτῶν παρθένον βιάσασθαι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀντὶ τούτου καταλευσθῆναι τοῦ ἀδικήματος. Ὀδυσσεῖα μὲν δὴ ἐν οὐδενὶ λόγῳ θέμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἀποπλέοντα οἷχεσθαι, τοῦ καταλευσθέντος δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα οὐδένα ἀνιέναι καιρὸν ἀποκτείνοντά τε ὁμοίως τοὺς ἐν τῇ Τεμέσῃ καὶ ἐπεξερχόμενον ἐπὶ πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν, ἐς δ' ἡ Πυθίᾳ τὸ παράπαν ἐξ Ἱταλίας ὠρμημένους φεύγειν Τεμέσαν μὲν ἐκλιπεῖν οὐκ εἶα, τὸν δὲ Ἡρω σφῶς ἐκέλευσεν ἰλάσκεσθαι, τέμενός τε ἀποτε-

μομένους οἰκοδομήσασθαι ναόν, διδόναι δὲ κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γυναῖκα τῶν ἐν Τεμέσῃ παρθένων τὴν καλλίστην. τοῖς μὲν δὴ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προστεταγμένα ὑποურγοῦσι δείμα ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐς τὰλλα ἦν οὐδέν· Εὐθυμος δὲ, ἀφίκετο γὰρ ἐς τὴν Τεμέσαν καὶ πῶς τηνικαῦτα τὸ ἔθος ἐποιεῖτο τῷ δαίμονι, πυνθάνεται τὰ παρόντα σφίσι, καὶ ἐσελθεῖν τε ἐπεθύμησεν ἐς τὸν ναόν καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἐσελθὼν θεάσασθαι. ὥς δὲ εἶδε, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς οἶκτον, δεύτερα δὲ ἀφίκετο καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα αὐτῆς. καὶ ἡ παῖς τε συνοικήσειν κατώμνυτο αὐτῷ σώσαντι αὐτήν, καὶ ὁ Εὐθυμος ἐνεσκευασμένος ἔμενε τὴν ἐφοδὸν τοῦ δαίμονος. ἐνῖκα τε δὴ τῇ μάχῃ, καὶ, ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἥρω· ἀφανίζεταί τε κατὰ δὺς ἐς θάλασσαν, καὶ γάμος τε ἐπιφανῆς Εὐθύμῳ καὶ [ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα] ἐλευθερία τοῦ λοιποῦ σφίσιν ἦν ἀπὸ τοῦ δαίμονος . . . . .  
τόδε μὲν ἤκουσα, γραφῇ δὲ τοιαύδε ἐπιτυχῶν οἶδα· ἦν δὲ αὕτη γραφῆς μῆμα ἀρχαίας. νεανίσκος Σύβαρις καὶ Κάλαβρος τε ποταμὸς καὶ Λύκα πηγὴ, πρὸς δὲ ἡρώων τε καὶ Τεμέσα ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἐν δὲ σφίσι καὶ δαίμων ὄντινα ἐξέβαλεν ὁ Εὐθυμος, χρόαν τε δεινῶς μέλας καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἅπαν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα φοβερός, λύκου δὲ ἀμπίσχeto δέρμα ἐσθῆτα· ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα.<sup>1</sup>

SUIDAS, s.v. Εὐθυμος.

Οὗτος ὁ Εὐθυμος ἠγωνίσαστο καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἐν Τεμέσῃ ἥρωα Ἀλύβαντα· ἡ δὲ Τέμεσα τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐστίν, εἰς ἣν Ὀδυσσεὺς πλανώμενος περὶ Σικελίαν ἦλθεν. ἔνθα εἰς τῶν ναυτῶν μεθύσας καὶ παρθένον βιασάμενος κατελεύσθη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγγχωρίων. καὶ Ὀδυσσεὺς μὲν ἐν οὐδενὶ θέμενος τὴν ἀπώλειαν ἔπλει· τοῦ δὲ τελευτήσαντος ὁ δαίμων οὐκ ἀνίει τοὺς ἐν Τεμέσῃ ἀνθρώπους ἐπεξερχόμενος καὶ φονεύων· ὥστε καὶ ὥρμησαν φυγεῖν καταλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ ἡ Πυθία σφᾶς ἐπέσχε, τὸν ἥρωα ἰλάσκεσθαι <κελεύουσα> τέμενος ἐργασαμένους καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν καλλίστην οὖσαν παρθένον ἐς γυναῖκα ἐπιδιδόντας. ταῦτα πολλοῖς ἔτεσι τελούμενα πυθόμενος ὁ

Εὐθυμος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος, καὶ τὴν παρθένον ἰδὼν, καὶ οἰκτείρας, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐς ἔρωτα ἐλθὼν, ἐνεσκευάσατο ὡς πολέμησων τῷ δαίμονι, καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν νύκτωρ φανέντα ἐνίκησε, καὶ ἐξήλασεν ὡς μηκέτι αὐτόθι φανῆναι, τὴν δὲ παρθένον γαμετὴν ἡγάγετο.

A comparison of these two passages will leave no one in doubt that Suidas was here in the main epitomising Pausanias. In the actual story told (apart, that is, from Pausanias' further note about the picture which he saw), Suidas' wording and phrasing constantly repeat those of Pausanias and, abbreviated as his account is, there is only one considerable omission. There are, however, two additions (indicated for convenience, like the passage of Pausanias which is omitted by him, in spaced type) which would suggest at first sight that he had supplemented Pausanias' story with information drawn from some other source. I shall however show that this was not the case, but that he was following an older and better manuscript of Pausanias than we now possess.<sup>2</sup>

The first of these apparent additions is the name Ἀλύβας. How comes it that Suidas speaks of τὸν ἐν Τεμέσῃ ἥρωα Ἀλύβαντα, while Pausanias gives in the course of his story no name, but remarks of the picture that he saw, ἐτίθετο δὲ καὶ ὄνομα Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ γράμματα?

I had satisfactorily reconciled these two readings and completed provisionally this article before I had access to an edition of Pausanias furnished with an *apparatus criticus*. I had pointed out quite rightly that we have to deal with a pretty example of haplography, double haplography affecting both ends of a word, the scribe having compressed ὄνομα ἀλύβαντα τὰ into ὄνομα λύβαν τά. But I had proceeded also to charge the same scribe with having let his eye wander to Λύκα πηγὴ or λύκου δέρμα in the preceding sentence, or with having simply mistaken a cursive β for the very similar cursive κ, and so having negligently substituted Λύκαν for λύβαν, when all the time the culprit, the wilful

<sup>1</sup> My text is that of the Teubner edition, save that I have omitted a comma after ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς, and have bracketed ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα.

<sup>2</sup> Our existing MSS. are all of late date.

culprit, was none other than Bekker, aided and abetted, I believe, by every editor since his time. So then let the name of Lycas, unrecorded elsewhere in Greek literature,<sup>1</sup> and invented only by Bekker to suit a man who wore a wolf-skin, disappear from our text; and let the manuscripts which give uniformly *λύβαν τὰ ἐπὶ οἱ λύβαντα ἐπὶ*<sup>2</sup> be accepted as evidence, corroborated as they are by Suidas, that Pausanias wrote *ἀλύβαντα*.

The first of the apparent additions being thus disposed of, I need not labour the point that the second, consisting of the words *νύκτωρ φανέντα*, becomes of little account. No one will suppose that Suidas was at pains to import that little touch from some other version of the story; rather it is to be presumed that the two words ought to be restored in the text of Pausanias between *ἐνίκα τε δὴ* and *τῇ μάχῃ*. Suidas, I am convinced, followed Pausanias only, and followed him faithfully.

We may return then to the word *ἀλύβας* which Pausanias saw written over the figure in the picture; and the question now to be put is whether the superscription was originally intended as a proper name or as a generic term.

Pausanias, on the simplest interpretation of his words, took it for a proper name, inclined thereto possibly by the spelling of the word. But the spelling is of no great importance; for Hesychius<sup>3</sup> testifies to *ἀλύβας* as a by-form of *ἀλίβας* in one at least of its meanings; and from the *Etymologicum Magnum*<sup>4</sup> we infer too that the mythical founder of the city of Alybas in South Italy was himself called Alibas. A variation of spelling therefore existed, at any rate in South Italy with which we are now concerned.

<sup>1</sup> I rely for this statement on Benseler's edition of Pape, *Wörterbuch der griech. Eigennamen*.

<sup>2</sup> The *apparatus criticus* in Hitzig's edition contains the following: *λύβαντα ἐπὶ* s. *λύβαν τὰ ἐπὶ* codd. 'Αλύβαντα e Suida voluit K(uhn) probante S(iebelis), sic vel 'Αλιβαντα C(lavier), corr. B(ekker) Λύκαν τὰ ἐπὶ. Hitzig himself, like other modern editors, perversely follows Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> S.v. *ἀλύβας*.

<sup>4</sup> *Etym. Magn.* 579, 29; s.v. *Μεταβος*. Both spellings of the man's name are found together there. See the last paragraph of this article.

On the other hand there is cogent evidence, first, that Alybas was not the proper name of that comrade of Odysseus whose lapses from virtue and exaltation to honour form the plot of our story; secondly, that the author of the picture seen by Pausanias intended the word *ἀλύβας* in its generic sense.

First then Strabo, who (to judge by his description of the *τέμενος* surrounding the *ἡρώον*) had visited the city of Temesa and could speak with first-hand knowledge, states that the hero worshipped there was called Polites. 'Near Temesa,' he says, 'is a hero's shrine, in a thick grove of wild olives, belonging to Polites, one of Odysseus' companions, who is said to have been murdered by the barbarians, and to have become a wrathful avenger (*γενέσθαι βαρύμηνιν*),'<sup>5</sup> borrowing this rare word apparently from Aeschylus' phrase *μέγαν δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν*,<sup>6</sup> which prepares the way for the explicit mention of an *ἀλάστωρ*.<sup>7</sup> So then according to Strabo the people of Temesa believed that this Polites had become an *ἀλάστωρ*, a term which, as we have seen, denotes a re-animated *ἀλίβας* in the exercise of his vindictive powers. Pausanias, on the other hand, had not visited Temesa,<sup>8</sup> and the story as narrated to him elsewhere—probably at Olympia in connexion with the statue of the boxer Euthymos—did not, it would seem, preserve the name of Odysseus' comrade.

Secondly then is it likely that the painter of that old picture, of which a copy was seen by Pausanias, had less local knowledge than Strabo? Surely it is hardly probable that such a picture, dealing merely with a local cult in South Italy, and not even with what might have been more famous, the exploit of Euthymos,—for Euthymos had no place in the picture—should have been painted anywhere save in the immediate neighbourhood of the shrine; and, if that is so, the painter must inevitably have

<sup>5</sup> Strabo VI., p. 255, who is followed by Eustath. on Hom. *Od.* I. 185.

<sup>6</sup> *Agam.* 1482.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1501 and 1508. For the connexion of the word *μῆνις* with *ἀλάστωρ* and blood-guilt in general see my *Mod. Greek Folklore*, etc., pp. 447-449.

<sup>8</sup> Paus. VI. 6. 10.

known that the hero's name was Polites. If then he attached to the painted figure the label ἀλύβας, he was clearly using that word, not as a proper name, but as a generic term. Moreover his whole conception of the figure which he painted bears this out. He knew presumably that Polites had met with a violent death, and, as we may infer from Odysseus' hasty departure, that his body remained unburied. He knew too presumably, what we have learnt from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that those who met a violent death and those who remained unburied became ἀλίβαντες. Equipped with this knowledge, he portrayed the hero as a grim black figure, peculiarly terrifying, and arrayed in a wolf-skin. These traits are clearly not proper to heroes as such, but there are grounds for holding that they were relevant and perhaps essential to the pictorial representation of an ἀλίβας.

In establishing this point the existing evidence concerning modern *vrykolakes* is not without value, and there are specific statements on record that *vrykolakes* are sometimes 'livid'<sup>1</sup> or 'black'<sup>2</sup> in colour; while the whole appearance of such a monster is described as being so terrible that 'by its mere aspect, without either speech or touch,' it has been known to kill men.<sup>3</sup> But ancient literature too furnishes corroborative evidence. The philosopher Democritus, according to a story told by Lucian,<sup>4</sup> was so firmly convinced that no supernatural apparitions could exist that he took up his abode in a tomb, and there sat writing day and night; 'and some young men, being minded to play a joke upon him and to give him a scare, dressed themselves up, to look like corpses (*νεκρικῶς*), in black clothes and in masks representing skulls (*κρανία*)' and danced round him; but he, without looking up or stopping his writing, said merely, 'Stop fooling.' Now the passage in itself, though mentioning explicitly corpses and skulls, might leave us in doubt whether the young men were

meant to represent mere spectres<sup>5</sup> or bodily *revenants*; but when in another passage of Lucian<sup>6</sup> we hear of a resolution being proposed in the underworld by one who is described as Κρανίων Σκελετίωνος Νεκυσίου φύλης 'Αλιβαντίδος, the close correspondence of language must turn the scale in favour of ἀλίβαντες. Black then in antiquity was the colour of these beings,<sup>7</sup> and the *revenant* Polites, though raised to the rank of hero, was still properly depicted in black.

Finally the wolf-skin which he wore, a garb in no way characteristic of a hero as such, had, it appears, in ancient religion, both Etruscan and Greek, a conventional association with visitants from the underworld. In Etruscan tomb-paintings Hades himself is 'coiled in a wolf-skin,' and there is evidence that in Greece too a wolf-skin or a cap of wolf-skin was deemed appropriate to Thanatos and to apparitions from the nether world.<sup>8</sup> Possibly the famous 'cap of Hades,' which conferred on the wearer invisibility, was only a reduced form of his Etruscan dress.

If then the artist who painted that black and ferocious figure, garbed as a denizen of the underworld, added to it the superscription ΑΛΤΒΑΣ, can any doubt remain as to what he meant? The shrine of Polites was, I presume, commonly spoken of as τὸ ἡρώειον τοῦ ἀλίβαντος, and the artist did well to omit a very commonplace proper name and to employ the familiar description instead.

My proof then is now complete; but my restoration of Pausanias' text involves yet one more correction. There is evidence that some annotator of Pausanias, of later date than Suidas,

<sup>5</sup> Spectres (*εἰδῶλα*) are also sometimes described as black; cf. Dio Cassius, LXVII. 9. 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Menippus*, 20.

<sup>7</sup> Mr. A. B. Cook has kindly pointed out to me that on a South Italian vase (Naples 3249) Clytemnestra is depicted in black. Clytemnestra had every cause for returning as an ἀλίβας, but the intention of the artist cannot be ascertained in this case; cf. note 5 above.

<sup>8</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus* I., p. 99, where the Etruscan Hades is figured and the Greek evidence collected. I am indebted to Mr. Cook for calling my attention to this interpretation of the wolf-skin.

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Greek Folklore*, etc., p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 370.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 365; cf. pp. 367, 369, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Philopseudes*, 32.

but working on a manuscript which still retained the word ἀλύβαντα uncorrupted in its text, understood that word in its generic sense, but added a marginal comment, itself erroneous, which has become part of our existing text.

I pointed out above that, of the three substantial discrepancies between Suidas and Pausanias in the texts which I exhibited, two consisted in apparent additions made by Suidas, and the remaining one in an equally considerable omission. But those apparent additions, we saw, were not in fact additions made by Suidas, but represented his faithful reproduction of the story as he read it in a better manuscript than any which we now possess. It is worth while therefore to ask ourselves whether that phrase which Suidas entirely ignores, ἀφανίζεται τε καταδύς ἐς θάλασσαν, formed perhaps no part of the text which Suidas had before him, but is merely a gloss wrongly incorporated in our own text.

For this view there is some curiously interesting evidence. It should be noted perhaps first in passing that the construction of the whole sentence, as I have given it above, is unsatisfactory, the καί before γάμος being redundant; and that to punctuate, as does the Teubner text,<sup>1</sup> with a comma after ἐκ τῆς γῆς, is merely to salve formal grammar at the cost of the whole balance of the sentence. This defect may have been occasioned by the intrusion of a gloss. What Pausanias meant to say was that Euthymos was the victor in the fight, and that, the hero being driven out of the land, Euthymos married the girl who had been destined for the hero and the people of Temesa were freed from his impositions. The question then is whether Pausanias himself added to the statement that 'the hero was driven out of the land' the further information that 'he plunged into the sea and disappeared,' or if this latter phrase is a gloss.<sup>2</sup>

My answer is that it is a gloss on the

actual word ἀλύβαντα. Some reader or copyist of Pausanias asked himself why the hero who was driven out of the land by Euthymos was labelled in the picture as an ἀλίβας. We may grant, if we will, that he knew the ordinary meaning of that word; we may grant that he may have known what we have learnt from the *Etymologicum Magnum*, that ἀλίβαντες comprised as one class those who had met their death in the sea (τοὺς ἐν θαλάσῃ τελευτήσαντας).<sup>3</sup> Yet even so, whatever his degree of expert knowledge, he might still have been at a loss to understand how a term ordinarily applied to the sere and withered corpse of some unfortunate human being could become applicable to one whom Pausanias depicts as a very lively δαίμων.

This point in itself, the usage of δαίμων, need not detain us; for, as Sir J. G. Frazer has remarked in a note on the story in question, 'no one word in English bears all the meanings of δαίμων, which must be translated variously according to the context';<sup>4</sup> it meant in fact any supernatural being. Frazer in this very story rendered it by 'ghost,' a sense which, in the phrase τοῦ καταλευσθέντος ἀνθρώπου τὸν δαίμονα, it might undoubtedly bear, were it not that the whole context, when fully examined in the light now thrown upon it by my discussion of ἀλίβαντες, demands rather some word denoting a corporeal *revenant*.

I suggest then that our supposed reader of Pausanias was at a loss to reconcile the term δαίμων, which suggested to him some divine or spiritual being, with the term ἀλίβας, which suggested a withered human corpse. He failed to see that an ἀλίβας resuscitated became *ipso facto* an ἀλάστωρ,<sup>5</sup> and that an ἀλάστωρ may certainly be called a δαίμων—failed, perhaps, because he did not know that ἀλίβαντες were even liable to resuscitation. He had in fact, I suppose, inverted the whole problem, and was trying to account for a δαίμων becoming

<sup>1</sup> So also Hitzig and others.

<sup>2</sup> Our text clearly includes one other gloss, viz. ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ἐνταῦθα, a mere explanation of the pronoun σφίσιν. I have bracketed it accordingly.

<sup>3</sup> See my previous article.

<sup>4</sup> Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*. Vol. IV., p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> See my previous article.

an ἀλίβας, and so in his perplexity had recourse to the lexicographers.

There, in Hesychius for example, immediately after the explanation of the word ἀλίβαντες, he would have found two apparently kindred words: ἀλιβατεῖ, says Hesychius = ἀφανίζει, and ἀλιβδύσαι (sic) = ἀφανίσαι. Or again in Suidas, immediately after the explanation of ἀλίβας, he would have found: ἀλιβδύειν = τὸ καταδύνειν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. μεταφορικῶς δὲ καὶ τὸ κρύπτειν καὶ ἀφανίζειν. παρὰ τὴν ἄλλα καὶ τὸ δύνειν, πλεονασμῷ τοῦ β' Αἰολικῶς.

Now I am not maintaining that Hesychius and Suidas, by the mere juxtaposition of the words which they explained, committed themselves to maintaining any etymological affinity of ἀλιβδύειν with ἀλίβας, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that our reader fell into the error of relating ἀλιβδύειν to ἀλίβας as verb to substantive. 'So then,' he said to himself, 'an ἀλίβας is any being who ἀλιβδύει (or ἀλιβδύεται) —sinks into the sea and disappears. That explains why Pausanias says ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἡρώς, and what he meant. The hero was driven not merely 'out of the land' but 'off the earth,' and the necessary implication is that he disappeared into the sea and was in that sense an ἀλίβας.' And accordingly he appended his marginal note against the word ἀλύβαντα, quoting first from the text ἐξηλαύνετο γὰρ ἐκ τῆς γῆς ὁ Ἡρώς and adding, with a noticeable change of tense, in words borrowed directly from Suidas, ἀφανίζεται τε καταδύς ἐς θάλασσαν.

Will any cautious critic reject my exposure of this gloss as too ingenious? Then let him try to digest two amazing coincidences: first, that in the only complete extant story concerning an ἀλίβας there happens to be found a phrase which in substance repeats information given by Suidas s.v. ἀλιβδύειν immediately after the word ἀλίβας; and second, that Suidas s.v. Εὐθύμος in his careful *précis* of that same story happened to ignore that phrase and that phrase only.

Once more then Suidas comes to our aid, though accidentally this time, in reconstructing the original text of Pausanias' story. The only mistake made by Suidas was in taking Alybas to be the proper name of the hero—a mistake into which Pausanias himself, it would seem, had already fallen. Yet it is just possible that Pausanias was writing loosely, and merely meant that by way of appellation there was the superscription ἀλύβας in its normal generic sense. So at any rate his phrase was read by the author of the gloss with which I have dealt; and the evidence of Strabo concerning the hero's real name, coupled with the evidence provided by the actual portrayal of the grim black figure with its dress of wolf-skin in the picture itself, can leave no doubt that, as now emended and interpreted, Pausanias' story of Euthymos must rank as a *locus classicus* περὶ ἀλιβάντων.

A conjecture concerning the genesis of this story may deserve a postscript. According to Eustathius,<sup>1</sup> the city of Alybas mentioned by Homer was that which was afterwards known as Metapontum. Now the reputed founder of Metapontum was one Metabos, and Metabos, according to one authority, was the son of Alibas.<sup>2</sup> This genealogy clearly suggests that Alibas was the reputed founder of the earlier city, and a cult of that founder with the rank of hero might well have continued in Metapontum after the city received its new name. Is it not possible that the cult of the hero Alibas had spread to the not distant city of Temesa, and that in course of time the personality of Alibas was forgotten there, while τὸ ἥρῳον τοῦ Ἀλίβαντος, alias τοῦ ἀλύβαντος, was still frequented as a shrine, needing an aetiological legend to explain its origin?

J. C. LAWSON.

<sup>1</sup> Eustath. in *Od.* XXIV. 304, p. 1961, 62.

<sup>2</sup> *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. *Μεταβος*, see note above on the spelling of ἀλύβας. My attention was called to this by Pearson on *Soph. Fr.* 790.



ON TACITUS, *HISTORIES* II. 20.

Ornatum ipsius municipia et coloniae in superbiam trahebant quod uersicolori sagulo *bracas barbarum tegmen* indutus togatos adloqueretur.

ON this part of the description of the un-Roman garb of Caecina, Gerber and Greef, *s.u.* 'tegmen,' have the following note: 'M. tegmī; Walther, Nipp., Meiser tegimen; Ritter, Halm, Her. del. barb. teg.' We may agree with the athetisers that neither Tacitus nor any contemporary of Caecina would, after a mention of *bracae*, have thought it necessary to point out that 'breeks' were a *barbarum tegmen*; but we must ask them to explain what scribe or annotator having *bracas* before him would have glossed it thus. Turn it round, and we see that it is *barbarum tegmen* which required explanation and that *bracas* was the gloss. Tacitus here, as so often elsewhere, is drawing inspira-

tion from Vergil. In *A.* 11. 777, the outlandish opponent of the Italian virago Camilla, '*peregrina* ferrugine clarus et ostro,' is described as '*pictus acu tunicas et barbara tegmina crurum*,' the upper garment being named, as here, and the lower indicated by periphrasis.

Between the forms *teginen* (*teguen*) and *tegmen* the choice is not so easy. In early Latin the declension was *tēgimen* \**tēgiminis*, and *tēgiminis* arose from the same *syncopation* which produced *cūlminis* from *cōluminis*, etc. (Lindsay, *Latin Language*, p. 185), and *bālneum* from *bālīneum*. Hence *teginen* sprang up later by *teginen*, as *culmen* by *columen*, first in Lucretius 'textile tegmen,' 5. 1350, and Verg. *A.* 7. 689 (P. has 'tegmīna'). Tacitus, however, has the fuller form elsewhere, and this has the countenance of *regimen* (thirteen occurrences), which, we may observe, is in classical usage a monoptote, like *specimen*, though the lexicons present both with a genitive.

J. P. POSTGATE.

## REVIEWS

## GREEK ETHICAL THOUGHT.

*Greek Ethical Thought from Homer to the Stoics.* By HILDA D. OAKELEY, M.A., Oxon., Reader in Philosophy in King's College, University of London. Pp. xxxviii + 226. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1925. (The Library of Greek Thought.)

AN introduction of some thirty pages gives a penetrating survey of the development within the period named, and suggests points of contact or contrast with more modern systems. Relevant extracts from Greek authors are then set forth chronologically in translation. Miss Oakeley inevitably suffers from lack of space, but by the side of Philolaus, Bacchylides, and Simonides — whose introduction to English readers consists of "The spirit of Simonides' poetry is thought to be noblest in Greek lyric poetry" — space might perhaps have been found for evidence yielded by Pindar, Aristophanes, Herodotus, or the orators. Plato and Aristotle rightly receive fullest measure, but one wonders (for instance) whether, when the latter's analogous treatment of other virtues has been well illustrated, part of the space devoted to his discussion of liberality might not, with gain of interest, have been spared for citation

from Theophrastus (e.g., ἀνελευθερία or αἰσχροκέρδεια), and whether the Cynics and Cyrenaics deserved to be completely ignored. A few lines from Cleanthes' hymn have perhaps better claim to appear than some of the second-hand Stoic evidence given.

Many of the extracts are drawn from standard translations, but Miss Oakeley ventures into the field herself, not always with happy result. 'God is day and night . . . plenty and hunger. But He changes Himself as the fire when it is mingled with smoke and has the name of each at pleasure' (p. 34). Heracleitus' point is destroyed by a misunderstanding of θύωμα and ἡδονή (Diels, *Fr.* 67). So, too, despite a context stressing the control of the other 'arts' by Politics, *χρωμένης δὲ ταύτης ταῖς λοιπαῖς [πρακτικαῖς] τῶν ἐπιστημῶν* (*Eth. Nic.* I. 2) is rendered 'the rest of the practical arts make use of this' (p. 144), while *ἀπόλαυσις παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν* (Usener, *Epīcurea*, p. 64) becomes 'the enjoyments of children and women' (p. 194). When the ὁρθὸς λόγος διὰ πάντων ἐρχόμενος of the Stoics is described as ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν τῷ Διὶ (Diog. Laert. VII. 87), these last words appear as 'the same for God' (p. 204), and when the Stoic view of happiness as

independent of duration is dealt with, καὶ <ἐκείνων> τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν μὴ διαφέρειν τῆς θείας εὐδαιμονίας μηδὲ τὴν ἀμερικαίαν διαφέρειν τῆς τοῦ Διὸς εὐδαιμονίας (Stob. *Eclog.* II. 98, 17 W.) becomes 'the happiness of the former differs in no way from the divine happiness, nor its character as indivisible' (p. 205). The last words make nonsense to any reader, the true meaning being 'nor does that which is momentary differ from the happiness of Zeus' (i.e., that which is eternal). In the *Nicomachean Ethics* ἐνέργεια is constantly translated 'energy,' which, while it must in almost every case mislead a Greekless reader, results in English like 'we ought to perform the appropriate energies' (p. 153). Again, 'when the soul is at peace' (p. 188) does not adequately render the first clause of *ἐταν ὁ δαίμων εὖ διδῶ, τί δεῖ φίλων* (*Eth. Nic.* IX. 9, cf. *Eur. Or.* 665 ff.), however well we may understand the original implications of εὐδαιμονία. In defiance of the context (*Eth. Nic.* VIII. 8), φιλόφιλοι is translated 'lovers of love' (p. 185), and without explanatory note, ὁ ἴσος as the 'equal man' (p. 175). Of the same order is the rendering of αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πρακτῶν τὸ οὐ ἔνεκα τὰ πρακτά (*Eth. Nic.* VI. 5) by the cryptic 'the prin-

ciples of practice constitute the final end of action' (p. 180).

The style of the introductory matter is often vigorous but not always lucid and graceful. We read of Plato's definition of justice as 'the doing by every individual of his own thing' (p. xxxiii), presumably τὸ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττειν (*Rep.* IV. 433A), and on the same page (179) we find 'the outcome of an experience of unswerving following of the same course,' and 'the difference between the most characteristic standpoint of Greek and modern ethics.' The source of each extract is given, but the references have gone awry on p. 196, and are lacking on pp. 52 and 190. The ascription of sayings of Bias (τοῦ Βίαντος) and Anacharsis to Bian (p. 176) and Anaxagoras (p. 147) respectively, is probably due to misprint or oversight. A bibliography with reference to the more exhaustive discussions of the subject by Schmidt, Ziegler, Wundt, etc., would have been of use to those inspired to seek further. Despite these defects the book will nevertheless achieve what appears to be its object, will help the English reader to some understanding of what the Greeks thought in the sphere of morals.

R. B. ONIANS.

### EPISTLES OF PLATO.

*Thirteen Epistles of Plato*: Introduction, Translation and Notes. By L. A. POST, M.A. One Vol. Pp. 167. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. 5s. net.

AN English translation of the Platonic *Epistles* has long been wanted, especially in view of the increasing certainty, due to the work of recent scholars, that all the more important letters are genuine. Mr. Post has given us what is in the main an accurate and readable version, though the obscurities and tortuous expressions in which Plato delighted in his latest writings make any translator's task a hard one. A few doubtful renderings may be noted: 319 D εἰπεῖν ἐναργῶς seems, in view of the context, to mean not 'to put down in black and white,' but 'to make anyone see';

323 B δίκη τε καὶ αἰδοῖ means 'by appealing to justice and honour,' the datives being instrumental with συμφῦσαι καὶ συνδῆσαι; 334 B βαναύσου φιλότητος is rather 'commonplace' than 'low-bred' friendship: it means much the same as τῆς περιτρεχούσης ἐταιρίας in 333 E; 334 D ἀνελεύθερα is not 'short-sighted' but 'ungenerous'; 325 C ἔπειθον can hardly mean 'I convinced'; 336 D πιστόν τι καὶ ὑγιές = 'reliable and sound,' not 'righteous'; and in the same section εἰ δ' οὖν ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερα γένοιτ' ἂν cannot mean 'if it is too late to resort to these measures.' In 354 C, 'put on the form of a king,' and in 357 C, 'gently and by every means,' are not very happy phrases. In the rare cases where the translator has adopted or suggested emendations he seems

justified, though the reading adopted in 335 B involves an impossible usage of *ἡλικον*, which the parallels cited are inadequate to support.

The introductions prefixed to each letter are admirable for their lucidity and insight, and the notes at the end of the book are most helpful. Mr. Post's solution of the chief difficulty in the eighth letter—the mention of Dion's son in 355 E—is very plausible: he believes that the reference is to Dion's posthumous son 'who flits across the page of history nameless and unfortunate.' There is also an interesting discussion of the relation of the seventh letter to Isocrates' *Antidosis*; Mr. Post is surely right in holding that the close similarity between Isocrates' eulogy of

Timotheus and Plato's of Dion, which seems to have passed hitherto unnoticed, cannot be mere coincidence.

The author is perhaps somewhat too ready to pronounce in favour of the authenticity of some of the shorter letters—e.g., the tenth; and the 'fine seriousness about small matters' which he notes in the thirteenth will perhaps appear to most readers to deserve a harsher name. This letter seems destined to remain an enigma; it is so uncharacteristic of the common forger, and yet it is hard to believe that Plato after a few months' acquaintance with Dionysius could have lectured him in this paternal fashion. But Mr. Post's candour, here and elsewhere, is not the least commendable feature of his work.

R. HACKFORTH.

#### THE FOURTH ENNEAD OF PLOTINUS.

*Plotinus on the Nature of the Soul, being the fourth Ennead, translated from the Greek by STEPHEN MACKENNA.* London: The Medici Society, Ltd., 1924. 31s.

PLOTINUS is indebted for such limited popularity as he enjoys in England almost exclusively to the work of two men—Dean Inge and Mr. MacKenna. The work of these two students is so different that it would be futile to attempt to compare them; but it may be contended that Mr. MacKenna has chosen the harder part; to expound so difficult a writer as Plotinus is easier than to translate him; the expositor may systematise and may use his own language, the translator must follow all the twists and turns of one of the most nimble and elusive intellects of all time. In the fourth Ennead, Mr. MacKenna has to tackle the crucial part of the system of Plotinus. In this Ennead, Plotinus deals with the soul, and it is at this point that the system breaks down. In spite of every refinement of thought and every brilliant artifice of argument, Plotinus has not been able to bridge the inevitable lacuna. The Greek dislike of any association between matter and spirit, which was so strong that not even the Christian Platonists ever frankly accepted the principle of Incarnation, has seduced Plotinus into hold-

ing in different books, and even in the same book, two fundamentally irreconcilable doctrines of the soul and its relation to the body. To thread the mazes which fringe the brink of the yawning chasm, to give the English reader any clue through the intricacies of the argument, is a task of overwhelming difficulty. As most of this review will be taken up with criticisms, it is fair to say at the outset that Mr. MacKenna has done his work so well on the whole that no one should attempt to do it again for at least a hundred years.

From the fact that the translation is published without any notes or summaries, it will necessarily be useful, not so much to the ordinary reader, who can hardly face Plotinus at all without elaborate aids, as to students, who can test by the Greek this accurate rendering which, like the Oxford Aristotle, is sometimes hardly intelligible without reference to the original. If this be the aim, the translator is greatly to be commended for his fidelity to the Greek, and his general restraint of language. The level of style is very well maintained; there are comparatively few unintelligible sentences—that is to say, Mr. MacKenna is brave enough to let us see what he takes Plotinus to mean, and so submits to our judgment. Occasionally sentences like 'there is nothing

against ascribing acts of memory and experiences of sense to them, in supposing them to accept the traction of methods laid up in the natural order' (p. 99) make us catch our breath; Mr. MacKenna not infrequently uses unnecessarily long and strange words; *ἐν σπηλαίῳ εἶναι* surely need not disappear under 'encavement'; and *πρὸ ὁμμάτων εἶναι ἐργάζεται* is rather over-emphasised by being rendered 'elaborates them into visibility.' It is too a pity that Mr. MacKenna should spoil really good sentences by placing them side by side with really bad ones; as in the following example: 'There is, besides, no principle that can prevent anything from partaking, to the extent of its own individual receptivity, in the Nature of Good. If therefore matter has always existed, that existence is enough to ensure its participation in the being which, according to each receptivity, communicates the supreme good universally' (p. 151). But the passages where an allowable ingenuity has transformed tortuous Greek into excellent and even impressive English are enough to compensate for very many more than the few lapses to be found in this book.

I propose to append specimens of the detailed criticisms which occurred to me in working carefully through the translation with the Greek text. It will be seen that they fall under three headings. I am sometimes in uncertainty as to the text which Mr. MacKenna translates. By his office, he is exonerated from citing the text; but there is a tendency among scholars to try and make sense in Plotinus of what is neither Greek nor sense, and since I have with me in India only Volkmann's text of 1884, I should have been grateful to know when Mr. MacKenna is translating manuscripts and when conjectures. Secondly, in places he seems to me negligent of minor matters of Greek scholarship. One such matter is really of considerable importance for the argument—namely, the constant suppression of the word *ολον*. Plotinus, being a man of most concrete and imaginative mind, constantly has occasion to remind himself and his

readers that his system is distinct from the artistry which he weaves round it; as reminder, he generally uses this word *ολον*. It may be agreed that to reproduce it in English is cumbrous; but Bishop Westcott had an exactly parallel habit of interjecting 'as we speak' whenever he used figurative or anthropomorphic language. Finally, there are passages where Mr. MacKenna's rendering, though obtainable from the Greek, does not seem to me to fit the argument. (The references are as Volkmann's Teubner Edition, 1884).

21. 16. 'Has no act of its own.' M. No; 'cannot make its own that in which it is'—the very point of the net which *cannot hold water*.

24. 9. 'In unity itself there may still be distinction.' M. What does he read? *συνεῖναι χωρὶς ὄν* can surely mean nothing but 'to be united, though partially separated.'

115. 14. *ἀντιλήψεως* and *αἰσθήσεως*, both translated 'perception,' are not the same thing.

116. 11. *ἀλλὰ τὸ δυνήσθαι καὶ ἐφ' ὃ τέτακται ἐργάσασθαι*, 'within its allotted sphere to act.' M. This misses the force of *καὶ*, and so the anaphora of *δυνάμεως* . . . *δυνήσθαι*.

117. 29. *μνημονεύειν μᾶλλον*, 'have long memory.' Impossible. How can children have long memories? Simply, 'are more apt to remember.'

117. 31. *ὅπω εἰς πλῆθος ἀλλὰ πρὸς ὀλίγα*, 'the attention is limited, but not scattered.' M. Where is *ὅπω*? The subject is not attention, but *memory*. They have only a few things to remember *as yet*, and so remember them easily.

144. 11. *ἐνδαιετάται*, 'has its activity.' M. That is *ἐνεργεῖται*; *ἐνδ.* is surely 'sojourns': the activity of soul is to escape from body.

145. 7. 'Absorbs much of the nature.' M. *ἀναπιμπλάσκει*. It depends on the size of a bucket whether, when full, it holds much or little water.

147. 24. *ἐνός τινος*, 'one form of being.' M. Better 'one individual entity.'

147. 31. *δεῖ* is surely necessary both to construction and to argument.

150. 5. *μετ' αὐτὸ V.*, 'their own nexts.' M. presumably reading *μετ' αὐτά*; but is the sense as good?

It may be said that these are carping criticisms: but many people believe, because Plotinus wrote curious Greek, that he wrote inexact Greek, and this does not seem to me to be the case. It is true that it is often necessary to reconstruct the true text from the argument; but the argument must first be established by close scrutiny of every jot and tittle of the text where it is sound, before we can venture to restore order to the text where the scribes have made chaos of it.

S. C. NEILL.

## A GREEK EPHEMERIS.

*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, moderantibus P. ROUSSEL, M. N. TOD, E. ZIEBARTH, adiuvantibus [thirteen scholars], redigendum curavit J. J. E. Hondius. Vols. I. and II., pp. 161 and 169. Leyden: Sijthoff, 1924, 1925. 10s. per vol.

It is needless to praise the enthusiasm, energy, and industry of this international team, in which England is represented so appropriately by Oxford and so competently by Mr. Tod. The second fascicule of Vol. II. brings the number of inscriptions up to 1,475, and opens with the above distribution of functions among the collaborators; in the earlier fascicules the functions were distributed differently. There is a Dutch editor, moderators representing England, France, and Germany, and a goodly company of adjutors, including Cumont, Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, and Wilhelm. The *Supplementum* is in safe hands, and the debt under which all Greek scholars are laid will mount up with each new issue. It is with a fitting sense of gratitude that the present reviewer, some of whose private criticisms on points of detail were given effect to on p. 140 of Vol. I., would venture to suggest a few respects in which the presentation of the new texts and the composition of the notes might be made even better than they are.

Inscriptions are not MSS.; their evidence is contemporary, and, if clear, ultimate; minor slips in the engraving are easily controlled, and noted in the usual way by ( ) and < >, or, better, by *sic*; and it is only in well-defined groups of inscriptions that the copy which lies behind really faulty engraving is so obvious, or so fully sponsored by a duplicate or by other evidence, as to be worth reproduction in the text, or even in the notes. These are truisms; yet too much precious space in these volumes has been conceded to mere dissatisfaction with what the engraver has bequeathed to us. Thus in the new 'taurobolic' inscription from Rome, Vol. II., No. 518 (Rose's brilliant interpretation in *J.H.S.* XLV., p. 180, should now be added to the literature), the first pentameter ends with *τοῦτο*

*φέρω τὸ θῦμα*. Crönert observes 'ne quis corrigat τοῦτο τὸ θῦμα φέρω monendum θῦμα iam Herodiano . . . notum fuisse.' Excellent; but is the copyist, engraver, or composer to be called to account every time that a form or a construction is unfamiliar as well as distasteful to Mr. Crönert? I have an uneasy feeling that it may be so. Such a practice is regrettable, for if unchecked it leads to the discrediting or suppression of interesting local forms, and reduces the rich variety of Greek or 'graecised' epigraphical usage to a norm dictated by the grammarians, metricians, and Pape-Benseler. Excellent examples of the opposite method are Mr. Crönert's own note on Vol. II., No. 738 (on which see below), and Mr. Tod's note on *ibid.*, No. 724, where unfaithful editors are recalled to their copies. Mr. Crönert's notes on Vol. I., Nos. 448-463 (to select a patch on which I am in a position to arbitrate between critic and engraver), are eloquent throughout of his unfamiliarity with the poetasters of the Anatolian plateau, and sometimes descend to mere *πολυπραγμοσύνη*. No. 461 is a rude village epitaph, with the line *Ἀμμα σωφροσύνης τέρμα τελούσα μόνη*. Did I say *τελούσα*? '*μολούσα* corr. censet Cr.' says the *Supp. Epig. Gr.* Does Mr. Crönert mean (a) that *μολούσα* was on the stone; or (b) that *μολούσα* was in the copy given to the engraver; or (c) that if the composer had known his business, or had been to the University of Athens, he would have written *μολούσα*? If the learned writers of such notes would sit down for half an hour and ask themselves 'What do I mean by "corr. censeo" as applied to an inscription?' I feel confident that much valuable space would be set free for the proper uses of a *Supp. Epig. Gr.* It is fair to add that the *Supplementum* owes much to Mr. Crönert's critical acumen and vast learning—e.g., on Vol. II., No. 678. On Vol. I., No. 464, l. 16, I am myself his debtor.

I add a few notes on details.

Vol. I., No. 78, l. 3. *εὐρέι νάσωι* in a restoration Bonus dormitat Wilhelmus.

*Ibid.*, No. 449 (p. 140). It really ought not to be necessary to point out that *Εὐθετίων* does *not* imply a proper name *Εὐθετος*.

Vol. II. No. 398. *Νερούα* = *Nervae*. As well accent the  $\beta$  in *Φλάβιος*, oftener written *Φλάουιος*.

No. 488 (Kertsch). '*Μασᾶς* a *μασάομαι*.' The name, of unknown 'accent,' written in Greek letters as *Μασας* occurs in Anatolia, and has as good a claim to kinship with *μασάομαι* as e.g. *Μασων* has with *Mason* or *Μασαρις* with *Masaryk*.

No. 666. When an epigraphist of Keil's sound instinct hesitates between two explanations, both stand condemned. Read *συνῶρια εὐχαριστοῦσιν*? The meaning is uncertain, but the word is the same as that restored with certainty by Anderson in *Studies in E.R.P.*, p. 128.

No. 669. The note suppresses the editor's reference to local parallels for the phrase *ἴδιον ἄνδρα ἀνέστησε βωμόν*, and substitutes an explanation which will occur to anyone unacquainted with the local usage.

No. 690. *φροντίδα* [*ὑγίης* vel [*νέος* vel simile quid.

No. 710, l. 10. Anatolian names are better (with Sundwall) left unaccented; but if *Γαλατων* is accented, it should be as accusative. Only one *Γαλατω* was in question. With *ποιεῖτωσαν κλῆρον Γαλατων* cf. *Aesch. Agam.* 814 ff. The connection of this name with *Γαλαξῶ*, in support of which *Ζεὺς Γαλάκτινος* might have been quoted (*J.R.S.* II., p. 248), is very doubtful; it is more likely to be *Γα-Λατω*; cf.

*Δημήτηρ* and *Γδανμαα* (*J.H.S.* XXXI., p. 193). The feminine personal name *Γη* is common in Asia Minor, and perhaps appears in Pisidia as *Γα* (Sundwall, *Einheim. Namen*, p. 92). Was *Λατω* the Pisidian word for 'mother'? The priestess took the name of the goddess, just as the priest at Pessinus was called *Attis*.

No. 738. *ὕγῳ* (rather than *υ[ι]ῶ*) Cr., following the copy. The same form occurs twice near Laodicea Combusta, once in a Phrygian inscription *J.H.S.* XXXIII., p. 98, once in an unpublished Greek inscription (Calder, 1925).

No. 745. *Ἰουλιαν[οῦ Π]άνσα (ᾰ)ν-κτ[ισ]αν(τος)* or *Πάνσα<ν> κτ[ισ]αν(τος)*? Cf. No. 824, and, for a similar tangle, *Studies in E.R.P.*, p. 309.

No. 747. Read *ἰς Μητέραν*, *Artemis of the Lake*.

No. 748 *fin.* *Ἐρμῇ τ[οῖς] μνησθησο-μένοις*. Cf. *J.R.S.*, XIV., p. 34.

No. 750. The bibliography should include Ramsay's papers in *Athenaeum*, 1911, August 12, *J.H.S.* XXXII., pp. 151 ff., *A.B.S.A.* XVIII., pp. 37 ff., *J.R.S.* VIII., pp. 107 ff.

No. 769. Read *οὐ τόπος (τέταρτος) προλέληπτε*, a 'clipped' or an incomplete text?

No. 874, l. 2. *Ἀστη* is nom. prop. as in Kaibel *Ep. gr.* 557. *Ibid.*, l. 5. Why *sic*? 'Of these (16) years she was 15 when she was married.'

No. 883. . . . *Γιάν[ν]η π[ρο]τίκτωρος κόσμον τὸν ἄκοσ(μ)ον κο[σ]μήσαντι*. On *κόσμος ἄκοσμος* see the references in L.S. from the *Anth. Pal.* John was a *protector*.

W. M. CALDER.

## THE WANDERING SCHOLAR.

*The Wandering Scholar*. By D. G. HOGARTH. Pp. 274. Oxford: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1925. 8s. 6d. net.

MR. HOGARTH does well to republish the gist of two books well known to classical scholars, the original *Wandering Scholar* of 1896, and the *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life* (1910). To an experience of archaeological travel which in its variety is probably unique and in its productiveness rivals Ram-

say's own, Mr. Hogarth adds the literary gift which placed the *Wandering Scholar* on many bookshelves by the side of *Eothen*. The chapter on the Anatolian Turk, reprinted with a half apology, has always seemed to the present writer to be closely connected with that other well-remembered chapter on the Trials of a Scholar, and to have been conceived in the same atmosphere of 'fitful dozing among the insects and heavy-hanging stench.'

The contrast between modern decay and former prosperity, which was so much in evidence when Mr. Hogarth travelled, owed much to two causes, from one of which the Anatolian is now trying hard to free himself, for the other of which he is not responsible—the paralysing grip of Moslem ecclesiasticism, and the discovery and progressive development of the sea-route to the East. The sheer character, industrious habits, and self-respect of the Anatolian peasantry made Anatolia a pleasant land in the past, and may do so again. The double error on p. 22, in which the Phrygian language is still

described as 'the speech of Lycaonia in which Paul spoke to the men of Lystra,' might have been jettisoned. Nor does repetition reconcile me to Mr. Hogarth's assurance (p. 31) that at Tat Kōi he 'watched the sun go down over the great earth-sea of the Central Plains' which lie due east of Tat Kōi. Respect for the word written in a diary doubtless explains the retention of such slips; and they interfere as little with our enjoyment of a thrilling tale as the dawn coming up like thunder out of China 'cross the bay does with our pleasure in the music of Mandalay.

W. M. CALDER.

### KROLL ON LATIN LITERATURE.

*Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur.* By W. KROLL. Pp. 390. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1924. Paper, 8.50 M.; bound, 10 M.

THESE contributions to the study of Latin literature are what they profess to be—a collection of materials of which the historian of Latin literature ought to take account, and which indeed he cannot afford to neglect. Professor Kroll has done his work with great thoroughness, though he modestly disclaims the attempt to exhaust the subject; every chapter teems with the results of minute study, and bears testimony not only to the scholarship but also to the sound commonsense of the writer. The field of observation is very wide. It is an axiom of modern enquiry on this subject that, if Latin literature is to be scientifically appraised, every department of it must be examined in relation to the corresponding department of Greek literature—especially that of Hellenistic times. An earlier essay by Dr. Kroll, entitled 'Unsere Schätzung der römischen Dichtung,' may be said to be replaced by the maturer thought on this subject contained in the present volume.

It is impossible within the limits of a brief review to do much more than give an outline of the contents and main drift of this volume. To criticise it would involve a discussion of a multitude of special treatises which here come up for review. Dr. Kroll's know-

ledge of the literature of his subject is comprehensive: the only omission that I have noticed is the *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature*, by Mr. Powell and Mr. Barber. The former's *Collectanea Alexandrina* was not published till the year after Dr. Kroll's *Studien* had appeared.

After four interesting chapters, entitled 'Romans and Greeks,' 'Poetic Creation,' 'The Material of Poetry,' and 'The Moralising Tendency of Poetry,' there follows a chapter on 'Grammatical and Rhetorical Theories'—which are regarded as having exercised a bad influence on literature through their pedantry, their purism, and their tendency to a slavish worship of the δεδοκιμασμένη συνήθεια of the past. On the other hand, Dr. Kroll recognises that Cicero, Caesar, and Horace maintained a wholesome independence of narrowing grammatical doctrines; and also that the rhetoricians played a part in developing the art of pointed and epigrammatic speech, which is such a prominent feature of Latin literature (p. 108 f.). After a chapter on 'Poets and Critics' we come to 'Imitation,' with an excursus on anachronisms. Here both the Hellenistic Greeks and the Romans are sharply criticised; but it is recognised also that originality did not stand in such high repute among the ancients as it does at the present day. And it does not lie within the scope of this chapter to call attention

to the other side of the picture. After a chapter on didactic poetry follows one on 'The Crossing or Mixture of Kinds,' in which the bookish character of Alexandrine literature is discussed and its effects upon Latin literature (e.g. the Odes of Horace). In 'Das Gedichtbuch' the author discusses the books of miscellaneous contents which it became the fashion to put together in Hellenistic times; in 'Die Dichtersprache' he treats of the attitude of aristocratic aloofness of the poets ('pingui nil mihi cum populo') and their artificialities of diction, with a great wealth of illustration. The next two chapters deal with the incapacity of the writers of this period to observe, i.e. their imperfect touch with the world of nature and historical fact—their 'science and pseudoscience.' Finally, the writers of history are discussed—Curtius, Livy, Tacitus. Here the purpose of the author is to trace the development of

the artistic historical style of Livy and Tacitus out of the bald style of the annalists. To Dr. Kroll Tacitus is the best craftsman; but even he is to some extent hampered by the annalistic tradition.

It will be seen that the severely scientific purpose of this work leaves the author comparatively little opportunity for directing attention to the great qualities of Latin literature. He is concerned with the question how each work came into being—its antecedents and development, rather than the resulting product as a whole. But such studies are a necessary preliminary to discriminating appreciation; and passages are not wanting in which he pays a tribute to the achievements of the greatest of the Romans and to the general superiority of classical Latin literature to the contemporaneous literature of Greece.

E. A. SONNENSCHIN.

### THE BUDÉ *ASINARIA*.

*Pseudo-Plaute. Le prix des ânes (Asinaria).* Texte établi et traduit par LOUIS HAVET et ANDRÉE FRETÉ. (Budé Series.)

HAVET bastardised *Asinaria* on the following grounds: (i.) The Prologue says the play was translated by *Maccus*; (ii.) there is only a single canticum; (iii.) the iambic septenarius is prevalently treated as an asynartete verse; (iv.) there are 'imitations of Plautus'; (v.) there are 'un-Plautine peculiarities'; (vi.) there are anachronisms of fact in the (?) allusion to Isis (806), *oenopolium* (200), *pistor* (*ibid.*), the price of a courtesan, the use of *optio* (101) and *uelitatio* (307); (vii.) the Greek scansion *epistulā* (762); the post-Plautine *disciplina* (201), *obicias* (814); (viii.) the metrical treatment of *quas hodie adulscens* (634).

It would take long to discuss these points in detail; but many of them are anything but irreducible, e.g. for No. viii., why not scan 'quās hōdĭ/ādūlē-scens'? There is no doubt that the word was pronounced by Plautus very much like the Italian *oggi*. In which case all Havet's somewhat confusing

disquisitions on proceleusmatics (p. lviii) become irrelevant. And on the name *Maccus* it must be objected that the argument fails, since the Prologue (poor scrappy fake that it is) is demonstrated to be late by the neglect of the law against two initial iambs (v. 13 *īnĕst/lĕpōs*). From the Prologue, then, nothing more can be inferred than that the writer, whoever he was—perhaps an archaist of the Antoninian reaction—thought that *Maccus* was Plautus' name, seeing that the plays were entitled *T. Macci Plauti*. But Havet, since *Asinaria* was in the Varronian canon, must find an author before 100 B.C., and suggests Novius or Pomponius.

The constitution of the text will be a surprise to many. Havet, whose rigorous laws have imposed on most of the Budé editors an almost blind adherence to MS. authority, produced an *Asinaria* with the text altered in more than 150 places, and some five-and-twenty lacunae dug and (with Curtian courage and devotion) conjecturally filled up. We gather that after Havet's regretted death the work was



revised by Mlle. Freté and M. L. Nougaret, and we sympathise with the difficulties incident to such a task. But it must be confessed that the text presents a large number of unmetrical verses as well as scansiones that are at best highly questionable. *Grāuiter* is twice introduced by the editor (254, 555); we have *ego istuc* (38), and *pol istum* (159); *ego hānc* (291); *homō* lengthened (288, 616); *quī amat* for *quī amat* (616); *erūm tu fac* at the opening of v. 476—a most unlikely maintenance of iambic value; *meām . . . partem* (517); *erogita* (326); *iube darē* for *iube dari* (890); *cārendum* (870A); *qu' habet* for *quām habet*—the order of words altered to the detriment of idiom as well as rhythm—(885); 897 is hypermetric by a mora, 915A short by as much; 908 has a very improbable hiatus.

These lapses are unfortunate in a book which was conceived largely as an object-lesson in *ars critica*; for it contains a *catalogue des fautes* classifying according to the categories of the *Manuel de critique verbale* the errors admitted or supposed to be in the MS. text. 'L'essence des fautes est psychologique et non optique' is a true doctrine, but not popular in all climates—for if that be true, how can they be corrected by machinery?—and one that sometimes needs to be saved from its friends.

One regrets to have to make pretty

large reservations in praising the posthumous work of so illustrious a Latinist as Havet, although his judgment was never adequate to his originality and his learning. But it is a pleasure to add that his translation (if I may judge of it) is excellent, most Plautine in spirit, and—with the few supplementary notes and appendices—really amounting to a commentary on the play, which much needed one. The part of his Introduction that deals with translation is a treasure, especially in the paragraphs about nuances in Latin—the significance of the order of words, the difference between *ego dico* and a plain *dico*, the aspects of the verb in Plautus. Here, too, we need not accept without qualification all the sweeping dogmatic statements (e.g. *p. L.*: '*aedis compilauit* signifie *Il a pillé la maison* [ou *ma, ta, sa maison*], jamais *Il a pillé une maison*'). But I hardly know where in so few pages a student will find so much suggestion. Havet was so steeped in Latin that he could see deep into the colour and texture of a given page of an author where the ordinary textbooks never say a word that teaches us to penetrate the surface. The book is admirably suited for studying and examining in an advanced class round a table. A clever student will change the whole quality of his perceptions and appreciations if he takes in some of Havet's pages.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

#### PROFESSOR REID'S *DE FINIBUS*.

*Cicero, de Finibus*. Books I. and II.

By J. S. REID, Litt.D. Cambridge, 1925.

THE appearance of this important work is a notable event in the annals of British scholarship. Its inception goes back to a distant period, since it was already promised some forty years ago when Dr. Reid published his translation 'in advance of the text and commentary.' The delay which has taken place is due to various causes, the chief of which, without doubt, is the extremely ambitious character of the work and the author's desire to obtain final perfection. Also, upon his appointment to the Cambridge Chair of Ancient

History, he judged it proper to concentrate his activities upon subjects immediately connected with his Professorship, such as his elaborate study of the Roman municipalities. A special reason for holding back the publication of the *De Finibus* was that he desired to recollate the MSS. and thus put the coping-stone upon his work. This project was interfered with by the outbreak of the European War, and subsequently his health did not allow him to make the necessary journey. He therefore determined, to the great joy of his friends, to publish his commentary as it stood. Unfortunately his health failed soon afterwards, and he was unable to

see this volume through the Press. At this crisis Dr. Purser, with characteristic generosity, came to his aid and offered to discharge this difficult task. His services are acknowledged in touching words in a note added to the preface by Dr. Reid, who also thanks Mr. A. D. Nock, of Clare College, for valuable help.

Dr. Reid's work has already been termed ambitious. The reason for this statement is that it challenges comparison with that of a very illustrious predecessor, J. N. Madvig. In the preface he says: 'By far the greatest exponent of Ciceronian Latinity who has appeared since the time of Lambinus is J. N. Madvig, whose *magnum opus* was his edition of the *De Finibus*.' Madvig's edition is indeed a classic, and exhibits throughout his unrivalled powers not only as a textual critic, but also as the most acute and subtle of grammarians. Dr. Reid approaches the work of Madvig in a spirit of respect and indeed of reverence; any pronouncement of Madvig is to him a weighty statement, especially when it concerns a fine point of grammar. What, however, he has set himself to do is to probe and reconsider Madvig's views, and in many cases to rectify and modify his conclusions. In subtlety he is not inferior to the great Danish scholar, while his common sense is conspicuous. His illustrations, gathered together in the course of so many years' study, are far more copious than those of his predecessor. He speaks with authority upon philosophical points, and uses sources of information which have come to light since Madvig's time, such as the Herculaneum papyri. On Roman history he is upon ground which he has made his own. His knowledge of Latin literature is complete, and he is nowhere more felicitous than in his comments upon early Latin authors, especially Lucilius.

The first, and also the abiding, impression which his notes make upon the reader, is that of wonderful thoroughness. Many of them are really monographs in themselves, which might be read before a learned society and serve as a basis for an evening's discussion. The information is closely packed, and

no word is superfluous. The longest and most elaborate notes are upon syntax, generally with reference to Madvig's views. There are also important discussions upon points of lexicography. The comments upon philosophical points exhibit minute knowledge brought thoroughly up to date. Literary and historical subjects are treated with the same completeness.

In the *Apparatus Criticus* printed under the text, Dr. Reid does not profess to give more than a selection of readings. This part of his work was no doubt to have been expanded later on when he had been able to make a new collation of the MSS. He has himself made a number of ingenious suggestions on the text of the *De Finibus* as well as upon other works of Cicero, and those of other Latin authors. In *De Finibus* I. 53 ff., where the sense is very difficult to follow, except on the theory of dislocations in the text, he has proposed several transpositions which on various grounds appear to be most attractive. In a note on § 55 he makes a most interesting remark about the pagination of the archetype—viz., that in it a page contained 23 to 24 lines of the Teubner text, and says that there are 'other indications' of this. There is not, however, any other reference to this theory in the present volume.

It cannot be said that the evidence for the text of the *De Finibus* is at all good. Only one MS. (A) goes back so far as the eleventh century, and the later copies are very inferior. Reid, not infrequently, calls attention, and with reason, to the insecurity of the text, when discussing Madvig's views on fine points of grammar. Enthusiastic grammarians should always bear in mind the character of the evidence for the text in question. In I. 10 *cum . . . mihi videor . . . debeo* Madvig and others read *quoniam* for *cum*, Reid retains *cum* and refers to other passages. As a matter of fact, the chief MSS., as will be seen from the critical notes, read *videri*, which may stand for *videar*, as well as for *videor*. As the reading is so uncertain, the passage can hardly be used to establish distinctions between the indicative and the subjunctive.

Though Madvig's armoury was in other respects complete, he lacked one weapon, which is now at the service of scholars. This is furnished by the new science of prose-rhythm, which was necessarily unknown to him. Consequently, when discussing grammatical irregularities, he never asks if the construction was varied on account of the rhythm. Thus Zielinski has drawn attention to his treatment of Cicero in *Cat.* III. 22, where the MSS. give *prae-sertim qui . . . superārē pōtūērunt*. Here Madvig emends *potuerunt* to *potuerint*, producing a clausula for which there is no parallel elsewhere in Cicero's speeches, in place of the *ēssē vidēātur* clausula of which he was so fond. Madvig performed a similar feat in *Fin.* II. 12, where after *esse* he reads *voluerint* with a single MS. (B) for *voluerunt*, again producing a clausula for which there is no parallel. A large number of examples might be quoted from the *De Finibus* where subtle interpretations of the great grammarian are at once seen to be unnecessary, since the exigencies of metre supply a simple explanation. Dr. Reid's notes contain a number of references to prose-rhythm as a deciding factor. It is probable that he would have inserted many more, if the bulk of his notes had not been written some years ago.

There are a few points in Dr. Reid's commentary which are not wholly convincing. Thus II. 54, it is hard to suppose that so learned a man as Asconius confused Tubulus with Carbo, and it is to be noticed that the two best transcripts of Asconius, those of Sozomenus and Bartolommeo, give *ut in carcere necaretur*, while the reading *ne* for *ut*, which is essential for Dr. Reid's theory, is only found in that of Poggio, who conjectured freely. In I. 70 the MSS. give *quod et posse fieri intellegimus et saepe enim videmus*. Here he accepts an emendation of Halm—viz., *evenire* for *enim*—an objection to which is that after a trochee Cicero generally uses a long syllable or two shorts in order to avoid a dactylic

rhythm. In his note he quotes II. 83, *id et fieri posse et saepe esse factum*, which he says 'refers to this passage.' Surely *factum* (an old correction for *enim*) is here necessary. In II. 94 the MSS. give *Philocteta, si brevis dolor levis*. Madvig emends *si* to *st*, and strikes out *levis*. Reid follows him 'with some hesitation,' pointing out that 'wherever *st*! is given in current texts of Cicero, it is due to conjecture. The Epicurean teaching on the subject of pain is given in § 95—viz., *si gravis, brevis: si longus, levis*. In the present passage we have *si longus, levis*, immediately after *si brevis dolor, levis*. Baiter reads, *Philocteta, si gravis dolor, brevis*, i.e. *brevis* was first replaced by *levis*, and then seized the place of *gravis*.

In one passage a real error seems to have got into the text. This is in II. 56 where the MSS. give:

sic vester sapiens magno aliquo emolumento  
commotus cum causa, si opus erit, dimi-  
cabit.

Most editors consider the words *cum causa* to be corrupt, but Reid defends them. In his critical note the only variant he mentions is *animi causa*, found in inferior MSS. In his text he gives *pecuniae* after *emolumento*, but the word does not appear in other editions, and does not seem to be in any MS. Also, its position in the sentence, after *emolumento*, is odd. It looks as if he had at one time emended *cum* to *pecuniae*—i.e., *pecuniae causa . . . dimicabit*. This would give a good sense, and might be supported from the context where *pecunia* is mentioned. If so, he must have changed his view, without, however, removing *pecuniae* from the text.

The University of Cambridge is to be congratulated upon the publication of this volume, which may with justice be described as a monument of learning. It makes a new contribution to the *Elegantiae Latini sermonis*, and must find a place in the library of every scholar.

ALBERT C. CLARK.

## CICERO'S EPISTULAE AD FAMILIARES.

*M. Tullii Ciceronis Epistulae ad Familiares.* Edidit H. SJÖGREN. Pp. vii + 578. Leipzig: Teubner, 1923-1925.

It would be hard to imagine a work which contained in so restricted a space a greater amount of useful and well-digested learning. Dr. Sjögren of Upsala is widely known as an able grammarian, and as the editor of a critical edition (in progress) of the *Epp. ad Att.* (he has already edited *Q. Fr.* and *ad Brutum*), in which he is developing the line of criticism marked out by Lehmann, and bringing to the work a more minute acquaintance with the MSS. and a wider knowledge of Ciceronian language than that scholar possessed. The editing of the *Epp. ad Fam.* is an easier task; but Dr. Sjögren's learning and judgment have had ample scope to display themselves therein and to make the work a valuable addition to scholarship. The edition is eminently conservative. He holds in a higher degree than recent critics the paramount excellence of M in both halves of the collection, and attributes a lesser degree of importance than it has to GR in I.-VIII. and to HD in IX.-XVI., though he considers these to be indispensable at times to the establishment of the text. He is at pains to defend in many places, and with conspicuous success, the tradition of the MSS. against the conjectures of scholars; and it is only in cases which are certain that he will accept conjectures into the text (e.g. 9. 6. 3, Klotz's '*otiosis minabantur*,' which is established by *Pro Marc.* 18). He prefers to leave nearly always the unsatisfactory reading of M where no certain restoration has been effected. It is very rarely—and this rarity is to be regretted—that even in the notes a conjecture of his own is hazarded. In 1. 5b. 1 he rightly reads in the text *a. d. VII. Id. Febr.* for VIII., comparing *Q. Fr.* 2. 3. 1 f.; but perhaps there is no need to propose the alteration in 10. 26. 3 of *Ianuarius mensem* into *mensem Ianuarius*, cp. *Sest.* 74.

Examples of cases where good reasons are assigned for retaining the MSS.

tradition are 5. 21. 5 '*praeter culpam ac peccatum qua semper caruisti*' by reference for *qua*, agreeing with the remote antecedent, to *Font.* 12: N. D. 2. 156: comparing the analogous 10. 21. 5 ('*defuturum*'), also 10. 24. 1: 10. 25. 1. Similarly in 14. 7. 2 he shows that *id est Apollini et Aesculapio* is required by '*deus aliquis*' in the preceding clause. In 11. 7. 1 he retains *volam*, quoting (in his *Comm. Tull.*, p. 150) for the use of the future Plaut. *Curc.* 493 '*et quidem meminisse ego haec volam te*,' and Horace *Ep.* I. 14. 44 '*censebo*'), and other examples. An excellent case of retention of the MS. reading is 15. 1. 3 '*quique nostram consuetudinem integritatemque perspexerant*,' where all editors since Ferrarius read *mansuetudinem*. Dr. Sjögren quotes Caes. *B.G.* 4. 22. 1 and better, in *Eranos* XIX. (1919), p. 162, *Vatinius ap. Fam.* 5. 9. 1 '*tuam cons. et liberalitatem*,' and 2 *Verr.* 1. 65 '*humanitatem consuetudinemque*,' which seem to settle the question. We may add Vitruvius 2. 8. 12 '*Graecorum cons. et suavitatem*.' He is right in retaining *felicite* in 1. 9. 26 (coll. *ad Brut.* 1. 4a. 3), '*tam Ulixes*' in 1. 10, and in making no addition in 6. 12. 3 '*magno opere putavi . . . perscribi*,' '*ought to be written*,' such as *e re* after *opere*, by reference to *Q. Fr.* 2. 15 (14) 3 '*quod putas magis*,' and *Att.* 14. 10. 1 '*me clamare senatum . . . vocari*.' He has convinced me that 6. 5. 1 '*quotiescunque . . . vidi*' is right, and is not to be altered to *video*, by comparing 7. 24. 1 ('*quoquo me verti*'); 13. 41. 1 ('*quotiescunque me vidit*'), and (in *Eranos*, l.c., p. 158) *De Div.* 2. 145 ('*cum . . . viderunt*'). It is doubtful if the balance of probability is in favour of M in 10. 12. 5 '*brevia, fugacia (fugatia M but -ia in an erasure M<sup>3</sup>) caduca*,' the previous words '*speciem gloriae . . . splendoris insignibus*' would seem to support *fucata* of HD, and the adjectives would be less tautologous.

A most valuable feature of the work is the lists of passages illustrating points of grammar—e.g., 2. 17. 6 omission of accusative pronoun when subject to infinitive; 5. 1. 2 imperfect where plu-

perfect might have been expected; 6. 7. 2 changes of mood with no very special variety of meaning; 1. 7. 5 *si* . . . *si* where *si* . . . *sin* might have been expected. Complete knowledge

of modern works on the *Letters* is evident at every turn. He considers that 6. 15 was written 'anno incerto,' and not on the Ides of March 44.

L. C. PURSER.

### CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

*The Commentaries of C. Julius Caesar on the Civil War.* By C. E. MOBERLEY, M.A. New illustrated Edition, with an Introduction by HUGH LAST, M.A. Pp. xlviii+227 and 33 maps. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1925. 5s.

THE absence of a preface to this book makes it difficult to determine what modifications have been made in Moberley's original work, and what the exact scope and purpose of the present editor may be. As far as one can judge, no substantial alteration has been made in text or commentary. Mr. Last has written a useful Introduction; and some maps, the source of which is not stated, and several good and interesting illustrations, have been added. It may be worth while to show by a few examples, chosen out of many, how defective in text and commentary Moberley's work is. Bk. I. 4<sup>6</sup> *potentiae*, no note. 5<sup>1</sup> on *docendi Caesaris* M. remarks: 'The reason for the gerundive being the frequent occurrence of two words in connexion with one another, it is obvious that the name of a man can seldom be connected in this degree with any other word.' What does this mean? 5<sup>3</sup> *latorum audacia* retained without note. 7<sup>2</sup> Madvig's *vetaretur* for *notaretur* adopted without comment. 16<sup>1</sup> on *recepto Firmo* M. says: 'The name of Fermo, as Kramer remarks, was introduced as a gloss from Cic. *ad Att.* viii. 10,' but Kramer changed his mind twenty years ago. The text is supported by Dr. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic*, III. 363 foll., and by the historian Guglielmo Ferrero. 18<sup>6</sup> *circumvenire* retained, but *circummunire* is necessary. 45<sup>7</sup> *augebatur illis copia* retained without note. 61<sup>4</sup> M. identifies Octogesa with Mequinenza, but Mr. Last (Introduction, p. xxxi) says that it stood on the site of the modern Ribarroja (see Rice Holmes, p. 399 foll.). So as a result of lack of

revision, introduction and commentary contradict one another. 67<sup>4</sup> a corrupt text accepted. 78<sup>1</sup> the correctness of *dierum XXII* is not questioned, but it cannot be right. 80<sup>4</sup> the textual difficulties are disregarded. 85<sup>5</sup> *tot tantasque classes* should have had a note. Bk. II. 6<sup>4</sup> M. commenting on the oddness of ships being said 'to see' anything, adds: 'This mode of expression is probably a consequence of "*magna vis telorum*" which would naturally be in the ablative, being the subject of the preceding sentence.' What this means I cannot imagine. 10<sup>5</sup> *structae trabes* and *conteguntur*, though the MSS. have *structo ul trabes* and *contegitur*: probably *tecto* should be inserted after *structo*. 25<sup>6</sup> M. perversely prints without comment *ad castra Cornelianiana vela direxisset*, though the best MSS. S and E have the perfectly correct reading *castra Cornelianiana vestra duxisset*=*castra Cornelia naves traduxisset* as H. Meusel discerned! 32<sup>8</sup> *clam vobis* might have had a note. Bk. III. 11<sup>1</sup> *his expositis Corcyrae* a bad text camouflaged by loose translation. 21<sup>5</sup> *familia Neapoli missa* faulty text and no note. 30<sup>1</sup> obscure passage with no note. 49<sup>3</sup> the impossible *ad specus* retained and explained. 67<sup>1</sup> *signo illato* wrongly retained. 81<sup>2</sup> *parerent* and *facerent* making nonsense of the passage: the same error is found in Mr. du Pontet's Oxford text; read of course *pareret*, *faceret*. 91<sup>3</sup> no note on obvious difficulty. 101<sup>2</sup> *quae sunt ad incendia* no note: the reading of Whl *apta ad* indicates that Caesar may have written *aptae ad*. I have suggested *ad incendia idoneae*, as *idoneus* is a favourite word of Caesar's. 111<sup>3</sup> *illae triremes* no sense: read *quadriremes* with Paul and other editors.

It may be noted that Moberley following General von Göler places the site of the battle of Pharsalia on the

north bank of the Enipeus. Modern investigation supports this view. I believe there has never been any systematic excavation of the supposed site. A battle in which 15,000 men are said to have been killed must have left a large amount of *débris* on the battlefield, and as the country was thinly populated and there were no tourists in quest of souvenirs much of this must have sunk into the marshy soil. Careful digging might reveal the exact position of the two camps. Will not some young archae-

ologists with time and money to spare undertake the task?

The book closes with a full vocabulary, including some proper names rather indiscriminately chosen. 'Legacy' as a translation of *hereditas* is disquieting to the legal mind.

It is difficult to understand why this book, published in 1888, should have been reproduced in its present form. The commentary is often faulty or insufficient, and the text is inferior to that of any recent edition.

A. G. PESKETT.

### THE BUDÉ VIRGIL.

*Les Bucoliques.* Texte établi et traduit par HENRI GOELZER, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Pp. xlii + 81. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres.'

THIS first volume of the Budé Virgil contains introductory chapters on Virgil's life, on the MSS. and the general editions of his works, and on the *Bucolics* in particular. The edition is in no sense eventful, but it gives a sober summary of most Virgilian questions as they stood twenty years ago. The reader will find no new light on the amusing question about the poet's racial origins (Etruscan? Latin? Gaul?). He will perhaps wonder how—for M. Goelzer, who denies all, or virtually all the *Appendix*—Virgil already had a reputation in 43 B.C. A reputation for what? Being unable to speak, and having written nothing?

The 'originality' of the *Bucolics* is well defended; but the criticism (p. 11) of R. Pichon's illuminating remark on Virgil's employment of the characteristically Latin practice of *contaminatio*, seems to imply that M. Goelzer incorrectly conceives the meaning of the term as the blending of two originals, and not the enrichment of a given canvas by borrowed details of colour.

In a new edition of the *Bucolics* we turn naturally to certain spots in order to estimate the new editor's critical discernment.

In I. 69 we find

post aliquot, mea regna uident, mirabor  
aristas

without variant, and for a rendering 'et puis contemplant mes anciens domaines, aurai-je la surprise d'y trouver encore quelques épis?' To which it may be objected that *anciens* is not in the Latin; and that, by making *post* an adverb, you are obliged to supply *uidebo* to the preceding clause, and absurdly divide Meliboeus' re-visit to his farm into two carefully distinguished stages: his boundaries and his cottage, and afterwards a considerable number of corn-ears. Why, when it has been demonstrated that *aristas* can be a refinement on *messes* in the sense of 'summers'?

Again one turns, of course, to *Buc.* IV. 62, and discovers (again with regret) that, in deference to the exploded notion that *rideo* with the accusative implies mockery, whereas in a number of classical passages it means no more than 'to be amused at,' the new editor reprints the illogical reading 'qui non risere parenti': illogical because, though Quintilian's evidence is explicit and decisive for *qui* as against *cui*, the evidence for *parentes* and not *parenti* has all the weight of the Virgil MSS. as against *not* Quintilian but the copyists of Quintilian.

Thirdly, in VI. 24 'satis est potuisse uideri' is rendered 'c'est assez d'avoir pu réussir à me voir.' If, however, he had 'often cheated them both of their hopes of a song,' why should it be so great an event merely to *see* Silenus? They must have *seen* him often enough before, but not, as they do this time, at their mercy because asleep. Still,

Monsieur Goelzer errs in good company; and, of course, it is easy to cavil at the treatment of noted difficulties; as a standard edition for the general reader the book will be wel-

come, and the French translation—if I may venture to judge it—is agreeable. The book is furnished with an *index nominum*.

J. S. PHILLIMORE.

### A RE-READING OF THE BUCOLICS.

*Pastoral and Allegory: A Re-reading of the Bucolics of Virgil.* By J. S. PHILLIMORE. Pp. 32. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2s.

THIS study of the *Eclogues* is a suggestive and often illuminating treatment of a body of poetry which, as Professor Phillimore says, has become, under the searching processes of modern analysis, more and more of a puzzle alike in its origin and its contents. He approaches the complicated enigma with fresh eyes; and he has done well in recalling students of poetry to considerations which lie at the base of its effective study. Of these the first is, what should be obvious enough but what is seldom thought out clearly, the way in which works of art come to be produced. Poetry, ancient or modern, is a single art; when Professor Phillimore mentions what he has himself learned from the study of Keats' beginnings, he is saying something very much to the point. It is in this insistence on the attitude to be taken, the approach to be made, that the value of his 're-reading' primarily lies. Some of his particular conclusions will raise question and may provoke dissent. He finds in the lyrics of the *Acharnians*, with their feeling for 'that old-fashioned, homely, delightful existence to which the refugees pent up in Athens looked back so fondly,' a germ of the pastoral and 'the first authentic ancestors of Theocritus.' More strangely, he finds the model or impulse for Horace's journey to Brundisium in the Theocritean *Thalysia*. Except in the sense in which all literature springs out of the soil of all previous literature, such views seem to verge on paradox. But even less comfortable is his assertion that Virgil in the *Eclogues* 'winks at his audience.' 'This,' he goes on, 'is partly what Horace meant when he spoke of Virgil's humour combined

with tenderness.' This is a large assumption. The word *facetum* has no doubt as many shades of meaning as the English 'wit.' But for what Horace meant, Quintilian's explanation *decoris et exultiae cuiusdam elegantiae appellationem* is decisive.

Of special value are the observations on the 'demand on wilful credulity' which all art requires; on *contaminatio*, 'the horror of pedants' but 'the very principle of continuity,' or of contact, 'between age and age in literature'; on the accusation of 'unoriginality' made against Virgil and against Latin poetry in general. The tendency 'to exalt the Greek and abuse the Latin' did nothing but harm to appreciation of both Latin and Greek. It is a fallacy which still lingers and still requires exposure. No less valuable is the stress laid on the fact, clearly established but still imperfectly grasped, that the *Eclogues* are, and were meant to be, the manifesto of a great joint movement of liberation and expansion, representing the reaction from Euphorionism; that they are, in his happy phrase, the Garland of the Circle. Virgil chose to cast them into pastoral form; and that is all there really is in the 'allegory' which they embody. Skutsch, twenty years ago, made this clear as regards VI. and X. The key was in Gallus. The key to the still more enigmatic IV. (could we but find it) is, as Professor Phillimore points out, in Pollio; though we need not follow him so far as to believe that in it Virgil is throughout 'winking at us,' and making fun of Pollio's orientalism and of the Jewish connexion doubtfully ascribed to him. It is highly probable that *Eclogue* IV. has in fact absorbed and transfigured a good deal of Pollio's own *nova carmina*. In the absence of evidence, this is about all that can be said.

J. W. MACKAIL.

## ROMAN BUILDINGS OF THE REPUBLIC.

*Roman Buildings of the Republic.* An attempt to date them from their materials. By TENNEY FRANK. Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. III. American Academy in Rome, 1924. \$2.50.

THIS book is of great interest and importance. After insisting in the Introduction upon the difficulty of dating Roman monuments either by stylistic criteria or by the size of the blocks employed, Frank embarks in the first chapter upon a careful analysis of the geological nature of the various materials, and indicates the periods at which each variety was chiefly used. The rest of the book is devoted to a detailed discussion of the monuments, in which he illustrates and justifies his generalisations. It is impossible for anyone not intimately acquainted with the buildings and quarries to criticise his fundamental theses, but his learning and candour are equally obvious. Whether the six sorts of volcanic tufa, difficult to classify by chemical analysis (p. 11), can in fact be distinguished by the eye with absolute confidence, is a question for experts. It is noticeable that Frank remarks (p. 140, n. 5) that a different but analogous problem—whether the stone of the Mummius inscription (*C.I.L.* 1<sup>2</sup>, 626) is travertine or ordinary limestone—can only be decided by ‘a microscopic analysis by a geologist, which has not yet been made.’ It is enough here to point out that almost the whole force of his conclusions rests upon the validity of such distinctions. It is obvious, too, that a book of this sort runs a great risk of circular argument. Indeed, the only check upon this (since little weight is given to stylistic considerations) lies in the literary evidence for the dates of certain buildings, and for the periods when Rome controlled certain quarries. As an example of Frank’s method, the

case of travertine may be considered. He believes, from the evidence of certain dateable monuments, that this limestone was not freely used till after the middle of the first century B.C. He is forced to admit its free use at that time in Plancus’ restoration of the Temple of Saturn (42 B.C.), but he remarks that ‘even Augustus’ builders employ it more sparingly’ (p. 54), and it would seem that but for this one piece of evidence he would scarcely admit such lavish use of it before the Flavian age. Yet he confidently denies (p. 127) that the travertine-built southern temple in the Forum Holitorium, which Delbrück, on stylistic grounds, assigned to the third century B.C., can even be so early as the Sullan age, to which Huelsen, for reasons like his own, had been constrained to lower it, and attributes it (partly, indeed, on literary evidence) to a conservative restoration in 31 B.C. As travertine was certainly used, though sparingly, before the end of the second century, Frank’s confidence seems exaggerated. Again, the argument (p. 140) that ‘no inscription on travertine can clearly be shown to be earlier than 130 B.C.’ hardly justifies the conclusion that a certain arch of the Ponte Rotto cannot be as old as 142 B.C. It is enough to compare the case of marble, which was used architecturally in 78 B.C., if not, as Velleius states, seventy years earlier, yet does not appear as a material for inscriptions before the death of Julius Caesar (p. 34).

But whatever doubts may be felt as to the finality of all Frank’s conclusions (and he is far from claiming finality), very many of them are convincing. It is impossible here to attempt to describe his particular results, but it is clear that the combination of work like this with the intensive study of style has already begun to dispel the darkness which enshrouds Roman architectural chronology.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

*The Relation of Dogmatism and Scepticism in the Philosophical Treatises of Cicero.* By MARGARET YOUNG HENRY. Pp. viii + 117. Geneva, N.Y.: Humphrey, 1925.

THIS doctoral dissertation summarises in succession the main argument of each of Cicero’s

philosophical works, with a view to determining the positive elements in his thought. The author does not succeed in formulating, so far as we can see, any fragments of genuine philosophical speculation, though she claims at intervals affinities to the more popular writings



of William James. The problem of sources and method of composition is not directly faced at all; and the whole question of Cicero's originality really depends upon this. For not even Cicero's greatest admirers have hailed him as an original *thinker*. The only question that can be raised is whether and how far in these treatises he is an original *writer*, and not a mere translator or paraphrast of a foreign original. No mere exposition of the subject-matter of the treatises will go any way to answer this question. Within its rather narrow limits, however, Miss Henry's work is carefully done, and shows evidence of genuine interest in the writings expounded. J. L. STOCKS.

*Italic Hut Urns and Hut Cemeteries: A Study in the Early Iron Age of Latium and Etruria.* By W. R. BRYAN. (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. IV.) Pp. xiv+204. 25 illustrations in 7 plates. Rome: Sindicato italiano Arti grafiche (for the American Academy), 1925.

*The Faliscans in Prehistoric Times.* By LOUISE ADAMS HOLLAND. (Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome, Vol. V.) Pp. viii+162. 13 plates. Rome: Sindicato italiano Arti grafiche (for the American Academy), 1925.

THE American Academy goes steadily and rapidly on, gathering facts concerning early Italy, docketing them neatly, and adding a certain amount of theory and deduction, for which chapter and verse is conscientiously given. The resulting books are for the specialist in archaeology, rather than for the classical student in general, but they are materials which the specialist will use and welcome, and everyone interested in Italian history and religion will need to refer to them now and again.

Mr. Bryan seems at first sight to depart from the usual arrangement of this series, which is geographical; but he explains (p. 5) that in Italy, whatever may be the case elsewhere, the hut urn is confined within quite narrow limits, none having ever been found outside of Etruria and Northern Latium. Chronologically, it belongs to the so-called Italic civilisation of the eighth and ninth centuries B.C., and vanishes under the increasing pressure of Umbrian and Etruscan influence. His book, therefore, is in some sort an archaeological history of those centuries in part of Central Italy, with particular reference, as must needs be the case when all the material is from graves, to funeral rites.

Miss Holland confines herself to the Faliscan territory, and puts together, a little dryly, all that archaeology can so far tell us of the somewhat backward people inhabiting that region in pre-classical ages. They were, it seems, a Stone-Age folk of nowise peculiar culture, afterwards invaded by the Iron-Age, 'Italic' race; the Bronze Age seems to have left them untouched, so far as invasions were concerned. As points of interest in this book may be mentioned the light it throws on the early history of horsemanship in Italy (p. 125 ff.), as deduced from certain of the remains, and the

account of the various burial rites, inhumation and cremation, in the last chapter. In this connexion, both these writers handicap themselves needlessly by an 'illicit conversion' unfortunately common among archaeologists—namely, that because cases can be quoted in which one race practises cremation and another inhumation, therefore whenever we find inhumation and cremation side by side we must suppose that two races are to be distinguished: a false doctrine which particularly confuses Miss Holland's work. However, both she and Mr. Bryan honestly give the facts, whether they can explain them or not, and therefore the reader can apply such remedies as seem fit.

H. J. ROSE.

*Die italischen Hüttenurnen.* By Dr. JOHANNES SUNDWALL. (*Acta Academiae Aboensis Humaniora*, IV.) Pp. 78. 3 full-page illustrations. Åbo, 1925.

THIS modest little brochure is not made superfluous by the larger work of Mr. Bryan, reviewed above; rather do they supplement one another. Dr. Sundwall gives a list of all the published hut urns known to him; collation of a few passages with Mr. Bryan's list shows certain differences, real or apparent, and suggests that the adoption of some uniform system of numbering these and other objects is highly desirable. He then has, what Mr. Bryan has not, a collective discussion of the typology of the urns. Both works deal, although in a different manner, with the influence of the hut urn on other types of ossuary. For the ethnological and historical conclusions to be drawn from these monuments, Mr. Bryan's work must be consulted, as Dr. Sundwall does not discuss them.

H. J. ROSE.

*Nicolaus of Damascus' Life of Augustus.* By CLAYTON MORRIS HALL, Ph.D. Pp. 97. Northampton, Mass.: Smith College Classical Studies, No. 4, 1923.

THE fragments of the *Bios Kaisaros* which are preserved, 31 chapters in all, fall into three sections, 1-18 narrating in some detail the earliest years of Augustus, 19-27 an account of the events from March 15 to November 44, and 28-31 the actions of Octavian from his return to Italy until the same date. The first section contains little of historical importance, but the second and third, written as they were by one whose friendship with Augustus gave him exceptional sources of information, contain much that is useful in checking statements in Cicero and the other sources, and some information not otherwise recorded.

Students of the period will accordingly welcome the present brochure, which contains the Greek text of Dindorf (with a few changes), a translation, and notes, which last are particularly useful for the full citation of parallels from the other sources.

It rarely happens that a translator succeeds in producing a version at once easy to read and reliable in its rendering of difficult passages. Nicolaus' bald and pedestrian style does little

to help the translator to the first, and Dr. Hall has concentrated his efforts in securing the second desideratum. In a few cases a desire for definition has perhaps carried him away from correctness—e.g., cap. 19 fin., 'before he had a chance to read it,' where the Greek has simply *πρὶν ἀναγνῶναι*; and there is an odd mistake in cap. 20, where translation and notes have Cyrus, but the Greek *Καυσαπλῶνα*.

But such faults are rare, and many students will be glad to save themselves trouble by an occasional glance at the right-hand page, while the too large class of Greekless historians may be congratulated on the fact that an indispensable document is here presented to them in a reliable form.

D. ATKINSON.

*Papyrusbriefe aus der frühesten Römerzeit*: Inaugural Dissertation. Von BROR OLSSON, Pp. xii+240. Upsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri-A.-B., 1925.

ALIKE for their human interest and for the help they give to students of colloquial Greek, the history of the language and its pronunciation, the private letters are perhaps the most valuable of all the various classes of papyri which have been recovered from the soil of Egypt. The present volume is a welcome addition to the literature dealing with them, and will take its place along with Witkowski's corpus of letters of the Ptolemaic period, and with Ghedini's of early Christian letters, as a handy collection of texts and a mine of linguistic material. Dr. Olsson confines himself to the period between 30 B.C. and A.D. 100—a rather arbitrary space of time, at least as regards the lower limit, but since letters of the Roman period are numerous, it was doubtless necessary to restrict the selection in some way. The editorial work is excellently done; the editor has not usually had the opportunity of seeing the papyri themselves, but he has in many cases consulted scholars who had, and in this way has been enabled to check his conjectures for the improvement of the texts. There are, in fact, a fair number of new readings, so that the volume is an indispensable work of reference for the letters of the early Roman period. Moreover, the editor has advanced explanations of many difficult or obscure words, not all of them acceptable, but all deserving of attention and not a few of them convincing. He translates the texts and adds an elaborate commentary, in which students will find much valuable material. A brief introduction, in which he discusses epistolary formulae, and indexes add to the value of his

volume, on which he is to be warmly congratulated.

H. I. BELL.

*Conlectanea Epigraphica* (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, 1923, IV.). By HARRY ARMINI. Pp. 58. Göteborg: Wettergren and Kerber, 1923. 3 kronor.

*Epigraphica Latina Africana*. De titulis sepulcralibus prosa oratione compositis provinciarum Byzacenae et Proconsularis quaestiones selectae. By GUNNAR SÖDERSTRÖM. Pp. xi+121. Upsala: Appelbergs Boktryckeri A.-B., 1924.

SWEDISH scholars are much attracted by the philological side of epigraphy, which is of importance for the study of the development of vulgar Latin. Armini's miscellany has a rather wider scope, but the bulk of it deals with matters of a linguistic rather than of an historical character. He begins with three unpublished inscriptions brought from Rome to Gothenburg by Professor Lundström, which have no very great interest, and proceeds to offer restorations and explanations of a variety of Latin inscriptions—almost all sepulchral and chiefly metrical, together with a few Christian texts—and of epitaphs from the Jewish catacombs of Rome, mostly in Greek, and mostly published by Paribeni in *Notizie degli Scavi*. The restorations and observations are ingenious and reasonable.

Söderström's dissertation is a study of certain formulae and phrases used in epitaphs of the provinces Byzacena and Proconsularis. It deals (1) with the variations of the formulae employed to indicate the age of the deceased and with related points; and (2) with terms of family relationship and other appellatives, and the epithets applied to them. The chief conclusions that emerge under (1) are that *vixit annis . . . mensibus . . . diebus* is much commoner than *vixit annos . . . menses . . . dies*; that the former is more frequent than *vixit annis . . . menses . . . dies*, and that the case of the months and days is always the same. In Christian inscriptions *vixit annis* continues to prevail, but the months and days are oftener in the accusative than in the ablative. Under (2) is discussed, among other matters, the interpretation of epithets such as *carissimus* ('loving' and 'loved'), *pius* (often 'loving'), *amantissimus* (frequently in passive sense), *acerbissimus* ('ganz unreif' and also 'cruel'), and of phrases like *vixit pietatem* (for *pie* or *pious*). The dissertation ends with a discussion of six inscriptions which are 'carminum similes propter epithetorum naturam et formulas ex carminibus receptas.'

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

## CAMBRIDGE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

ON January 29, 1925, Professor J. Whatmough submitted the text of twelve new Messapic inscriptions, and discussed the interpretation of these and of one earlier known, as also Messapic inscriptions in general (*Cambridge University Reporter*, March 10, 1925; *Proceedings*, pp. 1 ff.).

On February 12, 1925, Mr. J. M. Edmonds

read 'Some Notes on the *Persae* of Timotheus' (*C.U.R.*, February 17, 1925; printed in full in *Proceedings*, pp. 4 ff.).

On February 26, 1925, Sir William Ridgeway read 'Euripides in Macedon' (*C.U.R.*, April 21, 1925; *Proc.*, p. 17; printed in full in *C.Q.*, 1926, pp. 1 ff.).

Mr. J. R. Wardale read 'An Emendation of

Lucretius,' supporting Voss's *amusi* in I. 657 (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; *Proc.*, pp. 17 ff.).

On May 7, 1925, Mr. E. Harrison read 'The Birth of Euripides,' arguing that the poet's name is connected with Euripos, and that his birth is to be placed at the time when interest was concentrated on the Euripos in 480 B.C. (*C.U.R.*, June 9, 1925; *Proc.*, pp. 18 ff.).

Mr. H. Mattingly read 'Coinage and Currency in Livy' (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; printed in full in *Proc.*, pp. 19 ff.).

On October 29, 1925, Dr. J. A. Nairn read 'The Humorous Element in Greek Tragedy' (*C.U.R.*, November 24, 1925; *Proc.*, pp. 24 ff.).

Sir William Ridgeway read 'The Romano-Campanian Coins with Head of Mars (*obv.*) and a Horse's Head (*rev.*),' arguing for Mommsen's dating of them and against Mattingly's view (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; *Proc.*, pp. 26 ff.).

On November 26, 1925, Professor A. C. Pearson read notes on the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles (*C.U.R.*, December 15, 1925; *Proc.*, p. 29; printed in full in *C.R.*, 1926, pp. 58 ff.); and on Arist. *Ack.* 399, explaining ἀναβάνη as a reference to poetical inspiration lifting the poet to the upper air (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; *Proc.*, *l.c.*).

Mr. E. Harrison drew attention to passages of Euripides asserting that a child was named by its father or by its mother, not by both, and invited illustration (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; *Proc.*, *l.c.*).

Mr. D. S. Robertson proposed in Propertius II. xiii. 47 *longa suae minuisse*, 48 *garrulus Iliacis*; and in Ovid, *Tristia* I. v. 61 *f. trans freta sideribus totis distantia mensis* | *me tulit in Geticos Sarmaticosque sinus* (*C.U.R.*, *l.c.*; *Proc.*, *l.c.*).

On January 21, 1926, Professor R. S. Conway read a note on Livy XXI. 31. 4, in which he suggested that the tributary of the Rhone was the Sorgue, and that *Sorga* or *Sorgas* should be read for *Sarar*, the original reading of M. He

read also a note on 'The Patrician Mark on Latin Grammar.' Mr. E. Harrison read a note on the Greek inscription at Abu-Simbel suggesting that ΠΕΛΕΡΟΣΟΥΔΑΜΟΥ means 'Axe the son of Nobody' (*C.U.R.*, January 26, 1926).

On February 11, 1926, Professor F. E. Adcock read a paper on 'The Athenian Forces in the Egyptian Expedition,' supporting the view that 40 or 50 triremes, not 200, were lost in 454 B.C. Mr. R. Hackforth read notes on Juvenal: III. 86-108 (the aspect of the Greek indicated in 86 is the subject of the whole passage); III. 129 (*dudum uigilantibus orbis* is an oblique ablative absolute); VIII. 192; VIII. 241 (read *dux* for *in*); XI. 57 (read *iuxta sermonibus*). (*C.U.R.*, February 23, 1926.)

On March 4, 1926, Professor H. J. Rose read a paper on 'The Folklore of Saint Augustine' (*C.U.R.*, March 18, 1926, to be printed in full in *Proceedings*, 1926).

On May 6, 1926, Professor A. E. Housman read notes on Fronto, *ad M. Caes.* III. 12 (p. 49 Naber) (*dicere* < *tantum docere* > s: *at tu simul*); *ib.* 13 (p. 51) (*ratio* for *oratio*, perhaps also *amandi* for *amantibus*); *ad M. Ant. imp.* I. 5 (p. 102) (*amasti* for *amas*); *ad L. Ver. imp.* I. 1 (p. 115) *an tu < censens Epictetum > consulto uerbis usum < sordidis > and tam facile ille < pedum incolumitatem quam eloquentiam potuit comparare >*; *de orationibus* (p. 158) (*septimum* for *septima*); (*ad amic.* I. 1 (p. 173) (*sed* or *nam* for *nec*); *ib.* (p. 174) (*sollicitudo animi me a <rcet > multis eum uerbis commendare; sed fidem amorem nostri spondet < spes subuenturum ei, quid > quid postulem*). Mr. D. S. Robertson read notes on *H. Hom.* XXXIV. 16 (*ἀρνόν σφισιν* for *πόνου σφισιν*); Menand. *Epitr.* 304 (insert ON. *εὐγ* before *εὐθύς*); Apul. *Met.* III. 29 (interpret *Iuppiter ille* of the Emperor). Mr. A. D. Nock read a note on 'The end of the Rhesus' (*C.U.R.*, May 18, 1926).

## OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

THE following papers were read:

May 14, 'Greek Notions of Natural Law,' by Professor J. L. Myres.

May 21, 'An Attempted Diagnosis of the

Archer's Bow of the Homeric Poems,' by Mr. H. Balfour.

June 4, 'The Augustan and Post-Augustan Legions,' by Mr. H. M. D. Parker.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK).  
(1926.)

GRAMMAR, ETC.—May 24. E. A. Sonnen-schein, *What is Rhythm?* [Oxford: Blackwell, 1925] (G. Lodge). Long, careful and sympathetic review.—J. P. Postgate, *Short Guide to the Accentuation of Ancient Greek* [Liverpool University Press, 1924] (G. M. Bolling). B. writes a polemic against the printing of Greek accents.

HISTORY.—May 10. E. S. McCartney, *Warfare by Land and Sea* [Boston: Marshall Jones, 1923—in 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome'] (W. A. Oldfather). Praised. O. criticises certain details.—A. J. Toynbee, *Greek Historical Thought from Homer to the Age of Heraclius* [London: Dent, 1924—in 'The Library of Greek Thought'] (W. K. Prentice). Translation of select passages, with introduction. The choice of selections is admirable, but there is little coherence,

and T. draws no conclusions as to the standards and soundness of Greek historical thought.—May 17. A. J. Toynbee, *Greek Civilisation and Character* [London: Dent, 1924—in same series] (I. M. Linforth). L. regrets the limitation which confines the selections to historians only. 'T. has made a valiant attempt to create a worthy thing where the conditions were all against him.'—M. Croiset, *Hellenic Civilisation: an Historical Survey* (trans. by P. B. Thomas) [New York: Knopf, 1925] (L. R. Shero). The book is highly praised: the translation is not.—May 24. J. Hammer, *Prolegomena to an Edition of the 'Panegyricus Messalae': the Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1925] (A. E. R. Boak). A doctorate dissertation: 'an excellent piece of biographical research.'

LITERATURE.—April 26. V. Bérard, *L'Odyssée: Texte Établi et Traduit: Tomes I.-III.* V. Bérard, *Introduction à l'Odyssée: Tomes I.-III.* [Paris: Association G. Budé, 1924-5] (A. Shewan). The last word in dissection of the Odyssey; long and minute review, unfavourable.—May 10. H. Weir Smyth, *Aeschylean Tragedy* [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924] (C. W. Peppler). The Sather lectures for 1923; highly praised.

RELIGION.—May 3. Grace H. Macurdy, *Troy and Paeonia; with Glimpses of Ancient Balkan History and Religion* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1925] (S. E. Bassett). Partly a rewriting of articles already published. Original and stimulating, but not too reliable.

#### MUSÉE BELGE. BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE. XXX. Nos. 4-6 (APRIL, 1926).

P. Faider, *Sénèque et Saint Paul*. Traces history of legend of influence and correspondence. H. Glaesener, *Une réminiscence classique chez Alfred de Vigny*. J. Gessler, *Un soldat de Xénophon à éternel (Anab. III. 2-9) Commentaire folklorique*.

GREEK.—Aristotle: M. Defourmy, *A: L'Évolution sociale*, Louvain, 1924. Valuable (F. Collard). Plato: L. Robin, *Phédon*, Collection Budé. 20 fr. Most complete and rigorous edition yet published: masterly study (Anon.). J. Crexells, *Dial. I. and II.*, Barcelona. Edit. Catalana, 1924-5. Favourable (A.D.). Pythagoras: M. Meunier, *Les Vers d'Or: Hierocles, Commentaire, trad., prolég. et notes*, Paris L'Artisan du Livre, 15 fr. Favourable (Anon.).

LATIN.—Augustine: P. de Labriolle, *Saint A. Confessions tome I.*, Coll<sup>n</sup> Budé, 1925. The perfect interpreter (G. Hinnisdals). Ovid: H. Bornecque, *L'Art d'Aimer*, Budé, 1924. Favourable (J. Hubaux). Plautus: L. Havet et A. Freté, *Pseudo-Plaute, Le Prix des Anes*, Budé, 1925, 15 fr. J. Hubaux doubts date assigned. J. P. Waltzing, *Capitvi, Texte revu*, and *Traduction littérale*, Cham-

pion, 1926, 7.50 fr. each. Favourable (P. Faider). Sallust: B. Ornstein and J. Roman, *Cat. Jug.*, Budé, 1924. Favourable (P. Faider). Seneca: A. Bourguéry, *Dial. II.*, Budé, 1923. Favourable (P. Faider). R. Waltz, *Dial. III., Consolations*, Budé. Has not minutely revised Gertz; but some happy conjectures (P. Faider). C. Cardo, *Opera I. (de Ira) and II.*, Ed. Catalan., 1924. Favourable (A.D.). Virgil: H. Goelzer, *Bucoliques*, Budé, 1925. Might have had a more important volume in the Collection (J. Hubaux). H. E. Butler, *Aeneid VI.*, Blackwell, 1920. Favourable (V. Larock).

GENERAL.—A. Meillet et J. Vendryès, *Traité de grammaire comparée des langues classiques*. Champion, 1924. Favourable (J. Mansion). W. Theiler, *Zur Geschichte der teleologischen Naturbetrachtung bis auf Aristoteles*, Zürich, Hoenn, 1925. Interesting (A. Clausse). O. Navarre, *Le théâtre grec: l'édifice, l'organisation matérielle, les représentations*, Payot, 1925, 12 fr. Favourable (Cam. Bottin). S. Reinach, *La représentation du galop dans l'art ancien et moderne*, Leroux, 1925, 15 fr. Favourable (P. d'Herouville). L. Bréhier, *L'Art bysantin*, Laurens, 12 fr. A fine synthesis (A. Fliche). Petits Précis Dalloz, *Droit romain avec une préface de P. Collinet et A. Giffard*, Paris, Dalloz, 1926, 12 fr. Will be of great service (J. Willems).

#### PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(FEBRUARY—APRIL, 1926.)

GREEK LITERATURE.—F. Taeger, *Thukydides* [Stuttgart, 1925, Kohlhammer. Pp. viii + 309. 12 M.] (Rossbach). Politics and history clearly described; sketch of Thucydides belongs to the best that has been written about him.—*Eschyle. Tome II.: Agamemnon, Les Choéphores, Les Euménides*. Texte établi et traduit par P. Mazon [Paris, 1925. Pp. 171] (Wecklein). Does not do his subject justice either in accuracy or in knowledge of pertinent literature.—*Herodas*. After notices of editions by Knox, Groeneboom and Terzaghi, reviewer (R. Herzog) discusses at considerable length advances in text and commentary and adds suggestions.—*L'empereur Julien, Oeuvres complètes. Tome I. 2: Lettres et fragments*. Texte revu et traduit par J. Bidez [Paris, 1924, Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres.' Pp. xxiv + 258. 20 F.] (Ammon.). Explanatory introductions, full and reliable critical apparatus, translation close and tasteful, indices and get-up very good.—A. M. Harmon, *Lucian, with an English translation. Vol. IV.* [London, 1925, Heinemann. Pp. 422] (Helm). Reviewer regrets that the general plan has not made a really scientific edition possible. H. is thoroughly qualified for his task.—P. Geissler, *Chronologie der altattischen Komödie* [Berlin, 1925, Weidmann. Pp. 86] (Wüst). G. is familiar with all the recent literature. Reviewer hopes that this fruitful work will stimulate further research.

**LATIN LITERATURE.**—C. H. Beeson, *A Primer of Medieval Latin. An Anthology of Prose and Poetry* [Chicago, 1925, Scott, Foresman and Co. Pp. 389] (Manitius). Very suitable as an introduction to Medieval Latin; plentiful extracts over wide range, with short notes and vocabulary.—K. Polheim, *Die lateinische Reimprosa* [Berlin, 1925, Weidmann. Pp. xx + 539. 27 M.] (Manitius). Definitive scientific account based on vast collection of material; deserves warmest thanks of classical philologists, historians, and theologians.

**HISTORY AND LAW.**—E. Meyer, *Blüte und Niedergang des Hellenismus in Asien. Kunst und Altertum, Bd. V.* [Berlin, 1925. Pp. 82] (Berve). Traces history of Hellenism east of Euphrates; clear and unbiassed, and astonishingly full of facts and historical combinations.—T. Birt, *Alexander der Grosse und das Weltgriechentum bis zum Erscheinen Jesu* [Leipzig, 1924, Quelle u. Meyer. Pp. 497. 12 plates] (Wagner). Fascinating account, but at times needlessly colloquial; written for modern public, and no means left untried of familiarising ancient conditions. A second edition has already appeared with additions and corrections.—L. Wenger, *Institutionen des römischen Zivilprozessrechts* [München, 1925, Verlag der Hochschulbuchhandlung. Pp. xi + 355] (Kübler). W. is master of his material throughout, and clear and elegant in expression; his work is its own recommendation.—M. Wlassak, *Die klassische Prozessformel, mit Beiträgen zur Kenntnis des Juristenberufes in der klassischen Zeit. Teil I. Sitzb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Bd. 202, 3* [Wien, 1924, Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky. Pp. 249] (Kübler). Rich in matter and ideas; like all of W.'s writings, characterised by exemplary accuracy, constant reference to sources, and clearness of exposition. Second part eagerly awaited.

**PHILOSOPHY AND MYTHOLOGY.**—G. Méautis, *Aspects ignorés de la religion grecque* [Paris, 1925, De Boccard. Pp. 169. 7.50 F.] (Howald). This brilliantly written book contains chapters on musical aspect of religion (with references to Plato), hero-worship, Socrates. Warmly recommended.—U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Die griechische Heldensage. Sitzb. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.* [Berlin, 1925. Pp. 21 and 28] (Pfister). Part I. deals with sources, Part II. examines typical examples. Reviewer discusses at some length.

**ARCHAEOLOGY AND TRAVEL.**—K. Hielscher, *Italien. Über 300 Abbildungen in Kupfertiefdruck* [Berlin, 1925, Wasmuth. 24 M.] (Philipp). Skilful selection of artistic views. Introduction by W. von Bode.—A. Philippson, *Das fernste Italien* [Leipzig, 1925, Akad. Verlagsgesellschaft. With 7 plates and 3 plans. 6.30 M.] (Philipp). Deals with towns of Magna Graecia; both scientific and practical as a guide, and contains valuable geological descriptions of sites.—Lillian M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* [Baltimore, 1924, The Johns Hopkins Press. Pp. 132 with 75 illustrations] (Bieber). Most valuable and important results; a great advance on all her predecessors in this field.—W. H. Schuchhardt, *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon* [Berlin, 1925, de Gruyter. Pp. 74 with 21 illustrations and 34 plates. 40 M.] (P. Herrmann). S.'s object is to assign the various parts of the frieze to their respective sculptors; notable results which will stimulate further research.

**PAPYROLOGY.**—*Papyri Osloenses. Fasc. I. Magical Papyri.* Edited by S. Eitrem [Oslo, 1925, Dybwad. Pp. 151 with 13 plates] (Preisendanz). Acute and discriminating commentary together with translation greatly assists understanding of texts.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.*

\* \* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

**Allen** (P. S. and H. M.) *Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum. Tom. VI.: 1525-1527.* Pp. xxv + 518. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 28s. net.

**Appleton** (R. B.) *Nocturnus. Dramatic Dialogues.* Pp. 56. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 1s. 9d. net.

**Barry** (M. F.) *The Vocabulary of the Moral-ascetical Works of Saint Ambrose: A Study in Latin Lexicography.* Pp. xiii + 287. (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. X.) Brookland, D.C.: The Catholic Education Press, 1926. Paper, \$2.

**Baynes** (N. H.) *The Historia Augusta: Its Date and Purpose.* Pp. 150. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

**Berve** (H.) *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage. I.: Darstellung;*

II.: Prosopographie. Pp. xv + 357, 446. Munich: Beck, 1926. Paper, 45 M.

**Bickermann** (E.) *Das Edikt des Kaisers Caracalla in P. Giss. 40. Inaugural dissertation.* Pp. 39.

**Bräuninger** (F.) *Untersuchungen zu den Schriften des Hermes Trismegistus. Inaugural dissertation.* Pp. 42. Berlin, 1926. Paper.

**Bruck** (E. F.) *Totenteil und Seelgerät im griechischen Recht.* Pp. xxiv + 374. (Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung u. antiken Rechtsgeschichte, 9. Heft.) Munich: Beck, 1926. Paper, 22 M.

*Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* No. 11. Avril, 1926.

*Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* No. 12. Juillet, 1926.

- Carlsson* (G.) Die Ueberlieferung der Seneca-Tragödien. Eine textkritische Untersuchung. Pp. 80. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1, Bd. 21, Nr. 5.) Lund: Gleerup (Leipzig: Harrassowitz), 1926. Paper, 2 kr. 50 öre.
- Casson* (S.) Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria: Their Relations to Greece from the Earliest Times down to the Time of Philip, Son of Amyntas. Pp. xxi+357: 106 illustrations, 19 maps. Oxford: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Childe* (V. G.) The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins. Pp. xv+221: 21 illustrations, 8 plates. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul, 1926. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Classical Philology*. Vol. XXI., No. 2. April, 1926.
- Denniston* (J. D.) M. Tulli Ciceronis in M. Antonium Orationes Philippicae Prima et Secunda. Edited, with introduction, notes (mainly historical), and appendices, by J. D. D. Pp. xxiv+186. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Dessau* (H.) Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit. 2. Band, 1. Abt. Die Kaiser von Tiberius bis Vitellius. Pp. viii+400. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 14 M.
- Dickinson* (F. W. A.) The Use of the Optative in the Works of St. John Chrysostom. Pp. xvi+181. (The Catholic University of America Patristic Studies, Vol. XI.) Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.: The Catholic Education Press, 1926. Paper, \$2.
- Diehl* (E.) Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres. Vol. II., fasc. 3. Pp. 161-240. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 3.75 M.
- D'Ooge* (M. L.) Nicomachus of Gerasa: Introduction to Arithmetic. Translated into English by M. L. D'O., with studies in Greek arithmetic by F. E. Robbins and L. C. Karpinski. Pp. 318. (University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. XVI.) New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926. Cloth.
- Freeman* (K.) The Work and Life of Solon. With a translation of his poems. Pp. 236. Cardiff: University of Wales Press Board (London: Milford), 1926. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Friedrichsen* (G. W. S.) The Gothic Version of the Gospels: A Study of its Style and Textual History. Pp. 263. Oxford: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Giglioli* (I.) La poesia properziana. Pp. 32. (Estratto dall' *Atene e Roma*.) Florence: Vallecchi. Paper.
- Giles* (Brother). Latin and Greek in College Entrance and College Graduation Requirements. Pp. xiii+190. Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.: The Catholic Education Press, 1926. Paper, \$2.50.
- Goeber* (W.) Quaestiones rhythmicæ imprimis ad Theodoretum Historiam Ecclesiasticam pertinentes. Pp. xi+85. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 4.50 M.
- Haines* (C. R.) Sappho: The Poems and Fragments. Greek text with an English translation by C. R. H. Pp. xvi+255; 20 plates. (Broadway Translations.) London: Routledge, 1926. Quarter-vellum, 12s. 6d. net.
- Harland* (J. P.) Prehistoric Aigina: A History of the Island in the Bronze Age. Pp. xii+121. Paris: Champion, 1925. Paper.
- Heikel* (I. A.) Quaestiones criticae de nonnullis scriptorum Graecorum locis. Pp. 14. (Societas Scientiarum Fennica. Commentationes Humanarum Litterarum I. 7.) Helsingfors: Helsingfors Centraltryckeri, 1926. Paper.
- Hudson-Williams* (T.) Early Greek Elegy: The Elegiac Fragments of Callinus, Archilochus, Mimnermus, Tyrtæus, Solon, Xenophanes, and others. Edited with introduction, text, critical notes, and commentary. Pp. 132. Cardiff: The University of Wales Press Board (London: Milford), 1926. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Janzon* (E.) P. Ovidii Nasonis Fasti. Relegit et suecice convertit E. J. Libri I., II., III. Pp. 45, 51, 51. Göteborg: Wettergren and Kerber, 1924-5-6. Paper, each book 2 kr.
- Johnstone* (K.) The Hippolytus of Euripides translated into English Verse. Pp. 59. Published by Philip Mason for the Balliol Players. Paper, 2s. net.
- Klotz* (A.) C. Iulius Caesar. Edidit A. K. II.: De Bello Civili. Editio maior. Pp. xiv+184. (Bibliotheca Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, G.-M. 2.60 (bound, G.-M. 4.20).
- Liddell and Scott*. A Greek-English Lexicon. A new edition. Part 2: ἀποβάλλω—διαλέγω. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Paper, 10s. 6d. net.
- Macnaghten* (H.) The Antigone of Sophocles. Translated by H. M. Pp. xxvi+45. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Paper, 2s. net.
- Marc-Aurèle*. A moi-même. Traduit du grec en français. Pp. 327. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1926. Paper, 15 frs.
- Mey* (O.) Das Schlachtfeld vor Troja. Pp. 37; photographs, maps, etc. Berlin and Leipzig: De Gruyter, 1926. Paper.
- Mierow* (H. E.) The Roman Provincial Governor as he appears in the Digest and Code of Justinian. Pp. 54. (Colorado College Publication. General Series, No. 140. Language Series, Vol. III., No. 1.) Colorado Springs, July, 1926. Paper.
- Milne* (C. H.) A Reconstruction of the Old Latin Text or Texts of the Gospels used by Saint Augustine. Pp. xxviii+177. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.
- Mössel* (E.) Die Proportion in Antike und Mittelalter. Pp. 128; 63 illustrations. Munich: Beck, 1926. Paper, 9 M.
- Μουσείον*. Rivista di Antichità. Anno III., Fascicolo I. 1926.
- Müller* (P. A.) Oratio quæ inter Lysiacas fertur octava. Recensuit et explicavit P. A. M. Pp. III. Münster, 1926. Paper.
- Nairn* (J. A.) Latin Prose Composition. Library edition with versions. Pp. xi+168+52. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.

- Nauck* (C.) Des Q. Horatius Flaccus sämtliche Werke. Erster Teil. Oden und Epoden. Für den Schulgebrauch erklärt von C. N. Neunzehnte Auflage von P. Hoppe. Pp. xxii+218. Leipzig und Berlin: Teubner, 1926. Cloth, R.-M. 5.
- Odelstierna* (I.) De vi futurali ac finali gerundii et gerundivi latini observationes. Accedunt de verbo imputandi adnotationes. Commentatio academica. Pp. vii+84. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1926. Paper.
- Oomen* (G.) De Zosimo Ascalonita atque Marcellino. Pp. 93. Münster, 1926. Paper.
- Petch* (J. A.) The Old Oligarch, being the Constitution of the Athenians ascribed to Xenophon. Translated with an introduction. Pp. 29. Oxford: Blackwell. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.
- Photiades* (P. S.) 'Ἀττικὸν Δίκαιον. Διαψηφίσεις δημοτῶν· δοκιμασία ἐφήβων· ἐρμηνεία καὶ διδραχμῶν σχετικῶν Δημοσθ. χωρίων. Pp. 24. (Reprint from 'Ἀθηνᾶ.) Athens: Sakellarios, 1926. Paper.
- Pocock* (L. G.) A Commentary on Cicero in Vatinius. With an historical introduction and appendices. Pp. viii+200. London: University of London Press, 1926. Cloth, 4s. 6d. net.
- Postgate* (J. P.) New Light upon Lucretius. Pp. 16. (From the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 10, No. 1, Jan., 1926.) Manchester: University Press, 1926. Paper, 1s. net.
- Prickard* (A. O.) The Return of the Theban Exiles, 379-8 B.C. The story as told by Plutarch and Xenophon, arranged by A. O. P. Pp. 96. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Reitzenstein* (R.), *Bachrens* (W.), *Pohlens* (M.), *Kahrstedt* (U.) Das Römische in Cicero und Horaz, Skizze der lateinischen Volkssprache, Staatsbürgerliche Erziehung im griechischen Unterricht, Die Kultur der Antoninenzeit. (Neue Wege zur Antike II., III.; pp. 66, 79.) Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner. Paper, 2.60 and 3 M.
- Reitzenstein* (R.) and *Schaefer* (H. H.) Studien zum antiken Synkretismus. Aus Iran und Griechenland. Pp. 355. (Studien der Bibliothek Warburg.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 18 R.-M. (bound, 20 R.-M.).
- Ross* (W. D.) The Works of Aristotle. Translated into English under the editorship of W. D. R. Categoriae and De Interpretatione, by E. M. Edghill. Analytica Priora, by A. J. Jenkinson. Analytica Posteriora, by G. R. G. Mure. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Paper, 6s. net; cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Rostovtzeff* (M.) The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire. Pp. xxv+695; 60 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 45s. net.
- Sandstrom* (O. R.) A Study of the Ethical Principles and Practices of Homeric Warfare. Pp. 80. Philadelphia, Pa., 1924. Paper.
- Schiaparelli* (L.) Avviamento allo Studio delle Abbreviature Latine nel Medioevo. Pp. 99; 4 plates. Florence: Olshchki. Paper.
- Schmid* (W.) Aristidis qui feruntur Libri Rhetorici II. Edidit G. S. Pp. xvi+146. (Rhetores Graeci, Vol. V.) (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Cloth, G.-M. 6 (paper, G.-M. 5).
- Schuster* (M.) Altertum und deutsche Kultur. Pp. 656. Vienna and Leipzig: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1926. Cloth, M. 12.50.
- Scott* (W.) Hermetica. Vol. III.: Notes on the Latin Asclepius and the Hermetic Excerpts of Stobaeus. Pp. 632. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 25s. net.
- Shields* (E. L.) Juno: A Study in Early Roman Religion. Pp. 74. (Smith College Classical Studies, No. 7.) Northampton (Massachusetts), 1926. Paper.
- Spiegelberg* (W.) Die Glaubwürdigkeit von Herodots Bericht über Aegypten im Lichte der ägyptischen Denkmäler. Pp. 44; 5 cuts, 2 plates. (Orient und Antike, 3.) Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1926. Paper, 3 M.
- Suess* (W.) De eo quem dicunt inesse Trimalchionis Cenae sermone vulgari. Pp. 88. (Acta et Commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis B IX. 4.) Dorpat: C. Mattiesen, 1926. Paper.
- The American Journal of Philology*. Vol. XLVII. 2. Whole No. 186. April, May, June, 1926.
- The Antiquarian Quarterly*. No. 6. June, 1926.
- The Cambridge Ancient History*. Edited by J. B. Bury, etc. Vol. IV.: The Persian Empire and the West. Pp. xxiii+698. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 35s.
- The Journal of Roman Studies*. Vol. XV., Part 2. 1926.
- Thomson* (W.) The Rhythm of Greek Verse as exemplified in Aeschylus and Sophocles. Pp. 20. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie and Co., 1926. Paper.
- Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*. Vol. LVI. 1925.
- Van Buren* (E. D.) Greek Fictile Revetments in the Archaic Period. Pp. xx+208; 39 plates. London: Murray, 1926. Cloth, 24s. net.
- Van der Heyde* (K.) Composita en Verbaal Aspect bij Plautus. Pp. 122. Amsterdam: H. J. Paris, 1926.
- Walzel* (O.) Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. Lieferungen 55, 57, 61. Kappelmacher, Römische Literatur, Heft 1; Bethé, Griechische Dichtung, Hefte 7, 8. Potsdam: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion 1926. Paper, 1 R.-M. each.
- Weinreich* (O.) Die Distichen des Catull. Pp. viii+110. Tübingen: Mohr, 1926. Paper, 5.40 M. (bound, 7 M.).
- Widstrand* (H.) Palladiustudien. Akademische Abhandlung. Pp. ix+71. Uppsala: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1926. Paper.
- Wordsworth* (J.) and *White* (H. J.) Nouum Testamentum... Latine secundum Editionem S. Hieronymi. Part II., fasc. iii. Epistula ad Corinthios Secunda. Recensuit H. I. W. Pp. 279-353. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Boards, 10s. 6d. net.
- Wormald* (R. D.) Triennium. A three-year Latin course. Books I., II., III. Pp. 126, 160, 175. London: Arnold. Cloth, 3s. each.

# The Classical Review

NOVEMBER, 1926

## NOTES AND NEWS

FROM a correspondent:

'If the welcome accorded to the Classical Association by the City and University of Manchester is any criterion, the cause of the Classics is safe. Indeed, there can be no better cure for pessimism than a visit to one of our great modern Universities where the Classics have to justify their claim as an essential force in modern life amid the conflicting claims of modern studies, of science, and of commerce. The vitality of the Classics in these Universities is their justification. The number of classical students is still small, but, as Professor Conway showed from the evidence of public examinations, it is increasing by leaps and bounds. It is certainly significant that amid the distractions of its civic week Manchester should have found leisure to entertain the Classical Association and the University should have conferred the Honorary Degree of Doctor on four distinguished classical scholars — Professor A. C. Clark of Oxford, Professor Werner Jaeger of Berlin, Professor A. C. Pearson of Cambridge, and Professor E. K. Rand of Harvard.

'The President of the Association for the year, Lord Hewart of Bury, is closely connected with Manchester, and it was entirely appropriate that the Association should have elected as his successor Professor R. S. Conway, who has done so much to promote the progress of classical studies in Manchester and in the North.

'The practical value of the Classics as a training for modern life was the keynote of the meeting. At the Lord Mayor's reception, the new Vice-Chancellor of the University, Dr. Moberly, aptly chose as his subject, "Greek Studies and Modern Citizenship." "To attempt to think of civic problems," he said, "without reference to the experience and literature of Greece was much the same as if one were to attempt to think about religious problems without any reference to the experience and literature of the Hebrews. The words of Aristotle, 'We work

that we may have leisure,' find an echo to-day in the desire of Labour for conditions of life where the worker may have leisure for occupations and pursuits which will satisfy all his faculties. We may learn too from the mistakes of the Greeks, from that class-warfare which brought about their political ruin. In the Third Book of Thucydides we find a relentless analysis of what class warfare really meant, and how incompatible it was with the well-being and permanence of any community."

'It is impossible here to do justice to the Presidential Address of the Lord Chief Justice. Those who were not privileged to hear it, or who did not read it in the daily Press, will have the opportunity of doing so in the next volume of Proceedings. With delightful humour he elicited from an imaginary witness his answers to the question "What do we owe to the Classics?" He urged that Greek and Latin were complementary to one another, and that all who were fitted to profit by literary studies should have an opportunity of learning the Classics. The real justification for the Classics lies in the list of those who have held the office of President of the Classical Association, and have confessed their faith in the Classics, culminating in this present year in the Prime Minister and the Lord Chief Justice.

'The Classics are *Literae Humaniores*—they know no distinction of class or nationality. In January the Classical Association was honoured by the presence of a distinguished French scholar, M. Paul Mazon. At Manchester M. Jean Malys brought us the greetings of the Association Guillaume Budé, and gave a short account of its work. German scholarship, too, was represented for the first time since the war. Dr. Werner Jaeger, one of the most distinguished of Aristotelian scholars, in consideration for those of his audience who were not philosophers, chose for his theme Aristotle's "Verses in praise of Plato." They were written, he argued, in answer to critics who were accusing



him of disloyalty to his great master. Dr. Jaeger is a leader of the new school of classical humanism in Germany, and on the last day of the meeting he gave an interesting account of the position of the Classics in Germany, of the publication of a new journal, *Die Antike*, and of the founding of the Gesellschaft für antike Kultur. Last, but not least, America was represented in the person of Professor Rand of Harvard; nor will any who heard it be likely to forget his delightful paper on Ausonius, whom he acclaimed as professor, grammarian, bon vivant, and first poet of France.

'At meetings of the Classical Association we always complain that the timetable is too full. Manchester was no exception. We lived in a continual rush of lectures, receptions, and expeditions. On the Friday morning, for example, we began with a charming paper by Dr. Ethel Stuart on "The Roman Homer," in which she argued that the genius of Ennius was dramatic rather than epic. Then followed Dr. Jaeger's paper, and after that a very careful and scholarly paper by Mr. S. K. Johnson, the indefatigable joint-secretary of the Manchester Branch, on "The Critical Problem of Livy's Fourth Decade." By this time it was half-past twelve, and only half an hour was left for the concluding paper by Cav. Ing. J. A. Spranger, of Florence, who was unable himself to be present. It was an attempt to apply to the *Hippolytus* of Euripides the critical method of Verrall, and drew from Canon Cruickshank a spirited protest against Verrall and all his ways. There was material for a really animated debate had luncheon permitted.

'There is no space to dwell on the visit to the John Rylands Library, with its priceless collection of manuscripts and early editions, or on the debate on the place of Latin in Secondary Schools. Finally, on Saturday afternoon a fleet of cars, provided by kind friends, conveyed us through wind and rain to Ribchester, where we visited the Museum and the remains of the Roman fort under the guidance of Mr. Donald Atkinson, who had previously given a lecture on Roman Manchester. The meeting terminated with a lecture by Dr. E. N. Gardiner, on "Greek Athletics."

It was a most enjoyable meeting, and all who attended it must have echoed from their hearts the prayer with which the Chancellor dismissed the assembly—a prayer, be it noted, in Latin:

Salva sit Universitas nostra Mancuniensis.  
Hoc precantes consurgamus.'

Of *Die Antike*, which is mentioned above, be it added that a recent number gives a German version of the Prime Minister's presidential address to the Classical Association, which may now therefore be read in three languages (see C.R., p. 116).

Besides *Die Antike*, German scholarship may well be proud of another addition to its classical magazines. *Gnomon, Kritische Zeitschrift für die gesamte klassische Altertumswissenschaft*, published by Weidmann of Berlin, is now in its second year. It is chiefly devoted to reviews, but the September number contains a warm appreciation, by Ulrich Wilcken, of the work of B. P. Grenfell. Nearly half the number is taken up with a review, thirty-five pages long, of Professor Housman's text of Lucan; and it may be many years—far more than the obvious twelve—since a classical work by an Englishman received from a German so handsome a tribute of praise. 'The editor tickles and teases his reader with a vengeance; at times it looks as if his very object was to make him lose patience.' The reviewer, Eduard Fraenkel, sets out to save the reader from that disaster, and to let him perceive 'beneath the mummery of an often madcap wantonness an astonishing achievement of scholarly criticism.' Fraenkel himself, as he read, felt himself 'being put through a very severe course of intellectual gymnastics by a masterly trainer.' Yet his independence of judgment was not trained out of him, for much of his article is given to disputing the editor's opinions, without any mincing of words. 'Der streitfrohe Herausgeber' may have something to say in reply.

Two years ago the C.R. (Vol. XXXVIII., p. 97) announced 'the discovery, at Leyden, of a palimpsest of Sophocles, own brother to L'; but

gave reason to doubt whether this fresh evidence would do much to mend the text. Both the news and the doubt have been confirmed. Professor Vürtheim of Leyden has published a pamphlet of fifteen pages, with the title *Der Leidener Sophoklespalimpsest zum ersten Male vollständig untersucht*. It appears that out of about three-fifths of a manuscript of the seven tragedies, written perhaps in the twelfth century, a new book of tracts was made; but so well was the parchment cleansed for its holier service that only thirteen leaves out of 147 have yet yielded traces of the nether script. All seven plays are represented, and for sixteen passages of two plays Vürtheim gives a comparative table of readings of '*Pal.*' *L*, *A*, and the *recentiores*. *Pal.* is shown to agree very closely with *L*, sharing its errors in *Ai.* 579 and *Phil.* 126. It offers no new reading, but lends support to good readings at *Ai.* 582 (*θρηνεῖν*), *Ai.* 1160 (*κολάζειν*), *Phil.* 119 (*κεκληῖ*). Though Vürtheim is not hopeful, more may perhaps emerge; but for the time being the prospect of a full fellow to *L* is—dare one say in the context?—a 'wash-out.' The Editors of the *C.R.* are indebted to Professor A. C. Pearson for their first sight of the pamphlet, which, quite apart from *Pal.*, is of value for its review of the rise and fall of the esteem in which *L* has been held.

From Professor A. S. Hunt:

'Considerable additions to the remains of the *Aitia* of Callimachus will be made by Volume XVII. of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, now in an advanced stage of preparation. A passage of forty lines recovered from one papyrus reveals the attitude taken up by the poet in the much-discussed prologue of Book I. Another set of fragments preserves a still longer passage from Book II., throwing new light on its structure and contents; the confident guesses of Otto Schneider do not prove to have been happy. Of the new prose pieces included in the volume the most interesting are some historical fragments relating to the early years of the third century B.C. and provisionally attributed to the *Chronica* of Phlegon.'

From Professor W. M. Calder:

'One of the most intriguing inscriptions published in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* was the epitaph (No. 364) of the Christian senator of Eumeneia, Aurelius Eutyches, surnamed Helix, "a Eumeneian and a citizen of other cities," who prepared his tomb in the second half of the third century. The Greek invasion of Asia Minor led to the destruction (among much else at Ishekli) of the house into which this inscription was built; and in 1924 Messrs. Buckle and Cox, and I discovered that the "other cities" were recorded on the side of the tombstone, and were, or included, Stektorion and Sebaste in Phrygia, and Brundisium in Italy. Further, the names of these cities were engraved on emblems which are everywhere else associated with athletic victories, and it is now certain that Helix was a professional athlete. He may even be identical with the pancratiast Aurelius Helix (described, however, by Philostratus as a "Phoenician"), to whom my notice was directed by Dr. E. Norman Gardiner, and who was making athletic history at Olympia and at Rome in the second decade of the third century. However that may be, he is a person of some historical note, for he is, if I mistake not, the first Christian professional athlete known to history. The term *ἀθλητής* has a connotation of its own for historians of early Christianity. But it is a far cry from the Coliseum to the Maeander, and the story of Aurelius Helix is only the most startling of many reminders that the orthodox Christianity of the Eastern provinces was of a very different kind from that reflected in the martyrologies and in the epitaphs of the catacombs. A facsimile of the epitaph of Helix will appear in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, 1926, Part I.'

The *Electra* of Sophocles will be played in the Greek at Cambridge on February 22-26, with music by Mr. D. D. Arundel.

*Erratum.*—In the September number of the *C.R.*, p. 113, in the middle of column 1, for 'his fair Achaeans and Safines' read 'the fair . . .'

## A EUBOEAN COLONY IN CORCYRA?

IN the May number of this *Review* (p. 63-64) Professor Halliday has cast doubts upon the conclusion reached independently by three writers in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, that the Corinthian colony at Corcyra was preceded by a settlement from Euboea. Perhaps I may be allowed here to argue the case a little more fully than was permissible in the *Cambridge Ancient History*.

1. Strabo X. 1. 11, p. 449: καὶ ἐν Κέρκυρα δὲ καὶ ἐν Λήμνῳ τόπος ἦν Εὐβοία καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀργείᾳ λόφος τις.

Professor Halliday points out that Εὐβοία is also a cult-title of Hera, and must evidently be taken as such in Argolis. Similarly at Corcyra the place Εὐβοία might have derived its name from the goddess rather than from the island.

To this it might be added that Corcyra, too, had its Hera cult (P. Eitrem in Pauly-Wissowa VIII. 1. col. 381, No. 49). But (i.) Εὐβοία in Argolis was a *hill*, not a settlement, and therefore does not furnish a true parallel. (ii.) As for Greek *towns*, it was, to say the least, unusual for these to derive their names from cult attributes. Were there any *places* named, e.g., Πύθιος, Ἀγυῖεύς, Κουροτρόφος? On the other hand, Greek colonies not infrequently took over the name of a parent city or region, just as modern colonies do. Moreover, this practice was certainly followed in the case of at least one Euboean settlement. In the sentence preceding the one quoted above Strabo says: ἦν δὲ καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ Εὐβοία Χαλκιδέων τῶν ἐκεῖ κτίσμα, ἣν Γέλων ἐξανέστησε, καὶ ἐγένετο φρούριον Συρακουσίων. This is evidently not an etymological speculation, but a statement based on exact information (Ephorus or Timaeus?). But if the Euboeans actually planted a Εὐβοία in Sicily, why not also on Corcyra?

2. Plutarch, *Quaest. Gr.* 11 (Vol. II., p. 324, ed. Bernardakis): Κέρκυραν τὴν νῆσον Ἐρετρίεις κατέφκουν· Χαρικράτους δὲ πλεύσαντος ἐκ Κορίνθου μετὰ δυνάμειος καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατούντος, ἐμβάντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς οἱ Ἐρετρίεις ἀπέπλευσαν οἴκαδε.

This passage cannot be interpreted

away, but Professor Halliday seeks to discredit it by saying that Plutarch is no good authority.

It is a moot point how far Plutarch was acquainted with Greek antiquarian literature.<sup>1</sup> But Professor Halliday admits that Plutarch was steeped in the traditions of Delphi, and hereby he gives away his point, for of all places in Greece Delphi possessed the fullest and most trustworthy memorials of early Greek colonisation. In the present instance, at any rate, Plutarch's authority appears to have been the best possible.

3. A further argument, which Professor Halliday seeks to reduce *ad absurdum*, had better first be restated in Professor Halliday's words: 'A is said to have colonised C; B has a coin-standard (*sic*) near that of C; therefore A and B colonised C.'

Now (i.) the coins of C (Corcyra) and B (Carystus in southern Euboea) are akin, not in *standard*, but in *type*. The standing obverse type of Corcyraean staters—a cow suckling a calf—is as near to one of the Carystian types as a draughtsman working without photographic apparatus would be likely to get to his model (P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Pl. XVI., Nos. 23 and 24). This resemblance is all the more remarkable, as all Corinthian colonies, except only Corcyra, used the familiar Corinthian type of Pegasus and the helmeted Athena. A common cause for these affinities in Greek coin-types is a parental connexion between the two cities in question.<sup>2</sup> In the absence of any known political, religious, or economic ties which would explain the adoption of the same type at Corcyra and Carystus, we are left to infer that the Corcyraean type is a reminiscence of a Euboean settlement in which Carystians participated.

(ii.) The connexion between B (Carystus) and A (Eretria) was prob-

<sup>1</sup> For a criticism of the now fashionable view that Plutarch's working library could have been stowed away in a deed-box, see G. H. Stevenson, *Journal of Philology*, 1920, p. 204 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. between Eretria and Dicaea in Macedonia (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 213).

ably more than a mere juxtaposition. Eretria joined hands with Chalcis and Euboean Cyme to found the colony of Cumae in Campania. It is therefore not at all unlikely that the same city should have taken a draft of Carystian emigrants to Corcyra.

(iii.) It may seem strange that the Corcyraeans did not adopt the type of the principal metropolis, Eretria, but that of the accessory, Carystus. But the case is not without parallel. A standing coin-type of Rhegium was a lion's head, which is clearly derived from Samos (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 108-110). Yet the Samians contributed but a small and belated draft to the population of Rhegium, which was mainly derived from Chalcis and Messene.

The argument from coin-types is perhaps not Euclidean in its compactness, but neither is it a mere parcel of sticks.

4. Professor Halliday lays stress on the fact that Greek writers in general, and Thucydides in particular, only mention the Corinthian, but not the Euboean foundation on Corcyra.

Here is a real crux of historical method: how far is it legitimate to use the *argumentum ex silentio*? On this point it may suffice to make two remarks:

(i.) The entire history of the Greek

colonial movement is largely built up out of stray allusions and ἀπαξ λεγόμενα: discard these, and our chapters on colonisation will shrink visibly. Under these conditions it is surely risky to draw conclusions from the lack of references to our Euboean colony, which bore an early date, had a short life, and was obliterated by a famous and lasting settlement on or near the same site.

(ii.) In the case of so economical a writer as Thucydides it is not enough to say that he *could* have worked in an allusion *somewhere*. We must be prepared to show at what point such an insertion was *requisite*. Where could Thucydides have usefully mentioned a Euboean settlement on Corcyra? In the Κερκυραϊκά of Book I., in his reflections on Corcyraean στάσις, in his Sicilian Ἀρχαιολογία? In none of these passages would such a reference have been relevant. In any case, it is as unsafe to argue from the reticences of Thucydides as to presume on the silences of Colonel Bramble.

*Conclusion.*—The evidence in favour of a Euboean settlement on Corcyra is, of course, not conclusive; but it is as strong as that on which many generally accepted statements about early Greek history are founded, and the proof based upon it cannot fairly be quoted as a classical example of making sunshine out of cucumber. M. CARY.

## TWO PYTHAGOREAN PHILOSOPHEMES.

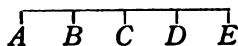
1. *The connexion between τὸ ἄρτιον and bisection ad infinitum.*

It is well known that the later writers of antiquity explain the connexion asserted by the Pythagoreans between τὸ ἄρτιον and the ἀπειρον by saying that 'the even' can be bisected εἰς ἀπειρον (see on this point Burnet *EGPh*<sup>3</sup> 288-9, with the references given there). This looks like nonsense, since after  $(n-1)$  divisions of  $2^n$  by 2, you get 2 as a quotient, and 2 can no longer be divided into 'even' parts. The  $n^{\text{th}}$  quotient will be 1, and thus the 'halving' will come to a stop. The real meaning becomes clear if we understand that we are dealing with a theorem of Pythagorean geometry. We have to think of a

terminated segment  $AB$  of a straight line as made up of a finite number of 'points,' or 'units with position' (μονάδες θέσιν ἔχουσαι); between any two adjacent 'points' there is an empty interval, what Aristotle calls a κενὸν ὃ τὰς φύσεις διορίζει (*Phys.* 213b 24); if there were not this 'gap' the two 'points' would be identical. In other words, on the view which is in question, it is *not* true that 'between any two points on a straight line there is always a third point.' It seems also to be assumed, as is only natural, that the intervals between adjacent 'points' are all equal.

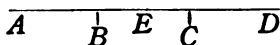
Now apply this to the bisection of a terminated segment of the straight line.

First, let the number of 'points' in the segment be odd, thus:



If you could bisect  $AE$  at all, the bisection would fall on  $C$ . You would have to 'split' the 'unit'  $C$ , and the 'splitting of the unit' is logically impossible (Plato, *Rep.* 525d 8, *ὁλοθα γάρ που τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα δεινούς αὐ ὥς, εἴαν τις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἐπιχειρῇ τῷ λόγῳ τέμνειν, καταγελῶσί τε καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέχονται*). Such a line cannot be bisected at all. This is why  $\tauὸ \text{περιττόν}$  and  $\text{πέρας}$  are associated.

But now consider the segment  $AD$ —



which contains an even number of 'units.' Here bisection will divide  $AD$  at  $E$ , in the middle of the 'empty' interval  $BC$ , and is *therefore* possible. It is then easy to show that  $ED$  can in turn be bisected, because the division will not fall on the 'unit  $C$ ,' the only 'unit' in the interval  $ED$ , but somewhere between  $C$  and  $D$ , and that, in like manner, the same process can be repeated endlessly. Every 'bisection' after the first will fall within the 'empty' interval between  $C$  and  $D$ , and  $D$  itself will never be actually reached. Hence the 'even' can, as the commentators say, always be bisected *ad infinitum*.

This is strictly equivalent to the arithmetical proposition that, if  $n$  be any natural integer, the sum of  $n$  terms of the series  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{2^2} + \frac{1}{2^3} + \dots + \frac{1}{2^n}$  steadily approximates to the value 1 as  $n$  is taken greater and greater, but never reaches it. Thus the proposition that the 'even' can always be bisected *in indefinitum* is strictly true, when we understand what it means. But since, on the given assumptions, not all segments, but only those with an even number of 'points' can be bisected, we see at once that the Pythagorean conception of the point as *μονὰς θέσιν ἔχουσα* is actually incompatible with the most elementary constructions of the geometry which the Pythagoreans themselves had created.

2. *The One and the 'Gnomons.'* Aristot. *Phys.* 203a 13 *περιτιθεμένων γὰρ τῶν γνωμόνων περὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ χωρὶς, ὅτε μὲν ἄλλο αἰεὶ γίγνεσθαι τὸ εἶδος, ὅτε δὲ ἐν* (see *EGPh*<sup>3</sup> 103 and *ib.*, n. 2).

Milhaud and Burnet seem to have wholly misunderstood this passage, though the meaning is rightly indicated by Themistius in his paraphrase. As to the words, (a) the 'gnomons' meant, are clearly, as both Milhaud and Burnet say, the successive series of odd numbers which have to be 'put round' 1 to produce the series of squares. [ $1+3=2^2$ ,  $1+3+5=3^2$ , and generally  $1+3+5+\dots+(2n-1)=n^2$ ]; (b) *καὶ χωρὶς* means 'and in the other case,' *e contrario*, much as at Aeschylus, *Agam.* 637 *χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν*, where *χωρὶς* is apparently adverbial, and the sense is that telling bad news and rejoicing over good fortune are 'clear contrary' duties, which should not be blended; (c) as the emphasis given to *περιτιθεμένων τῶν γνωμόνων* by its position shows, the two contrasted procedures are not 'putting the gnomons round the one' and 'dispensing with the one'—this is the mistake committed by Milhaud and Burnet—but 'putting the gnomons round the one' and 'putting something else round the one'; (d) *εἶδος* has its standing meaning when it occurs in connexion with geometry, 'regular polygon.' (The rectangles Milhaud and Burnet produce by putting successive even numbers round one another are not 'regular polygons,' and are never spoken of as *εἶδη*.)

Aristotle means, then, that if you take the series of sums, 1, 1+3, 1+3+5 . . ., you get 1, 4, 9 . . ., the second powers of the successive integers. The 'pattern' (*εἶδος*) remains the same throughout the series; it is a square. But if you add to 1 successive sums of *even* numbers you get the series 1, 1+2, 1+2+4, 1+2+4+6 . . ., that is 1, 3, 7, 13 . . . Now here the 'pattern' changes at every step; 3 is a 'triangle,' 7 a 'regular heptagon,' and so on. Burnet has misunderstood the words he quotes from [Plutarch] *Stromat.* at *EGPh*<sup>3</sup> n. 2. In them *τῶν δὲ ἀρτιῶν ὁμοίως περιτιθεμένων* can only mean, as the antithesis with the preceding clause shows, *περιτιθεμένων τῇ*

μονάδι, 'if we put the even numbers round 1.' The writer understands Aristotle, not as Burnet does, but exactly in the way I have just explained. His statement that the numbers which result from the proceeding are *ἐτερομήκεις καὶ ἄνισοι πάντες* must not be pressed to mean that they are one and all 'oblongs' (products of two unequal factors), still less must 'oblong' be taken in the strict sense in which it means a number of the form  $n(n+1)$ . Such numbers are necessarily even, and none of them could be produced by the method Aristotle and [Plutarch] are describing. Milhaud and Burnet want to find the 'oblongs' in the texts, but they have to mistranslate in order to do so. If we write down the first few terms of the series really meant, 1, 1+2, 1+2+4 . . ., we get 1, 3, 7, 13, 21, 31, 43, 57 . . . Out of these eight terms all are prime except 21 and 57, which are products of two unequal factors,  $3 \times 7$  and  $3 \times 19$ . It is these products of two unequal factors, both odd, which [Plutarch] means by *ἐτερομήκεις*. At any rate this is how

Themistius also understood the passage, and I feel sure he is right (*In Phys.* F. Spengel, p. 222, οἱ δὲ ἀρτιοὶ προστιθέμενοι τῇ μονάδι κατὰ τοὺς ἐφεξῆς αἰεὶ τι καινὸν εἶδος ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἡ διαφορὰ πρόεισιν εἰς ἄπειρον, τρίγωνον, ἔτα [καὶ] ἐπτάγωνον εἶθ' ὅτι καὶ τῦχοι). It is interesting that St. Thomas understood the passage correctly. Cf. *Comment. in de Anima* I. 7, c, *si enim unitati addatur binarius qui est primus par, consurgit ternarius, qui est numerus triangularis; quibus si rursus addatur quaternarius, qui est secundus par, consurgit septennarius, qui est septangulae figurae, et sic in infinitum*. The true sense must have been lost in quite modern times, since Pacius, in his commentary *ad loc.*, only goes wrong on one point; he supposes that τὸ ἐν means 4, because 4 is the 'first square'! But he correctly points out that if you add 6 to 4, and get 10, the 'pattern changes,' since 10 is a 'triangle.' Thus he seems to have understood that an εἶδος means a 'regular polygon,' not the sort of rectangle some modern interpreters bring into the discussion.

A. E. TAYLOR.

### SOME NOTES ON AESCHYLUS, *EUMENIDES*.

10. κέλσας ἐπ' ἀκτὰς ναυπόρους τῆς Παλλάδος.

This description of Apollo's journey from Delos to Delphi is connected in the Scholia and by modern editors with the route of the Sacred Way through Attica to Delphi. The particular landing-place, however, is in dispute. Is the allusion, perhaps, to Prasiae? Mr. Seltman (*Athens, its History and Coinage*, pp. 12, 30) argues that Prasiae, on the east coast of Attica, was the original harbour of Athens, whence the Theoria of the Theseus-ship sailed to Delos. The evidence for the view that it sailed from Prasiae in the fifth century is not conclusive, but the traditional connexion between Delos and Prasiae would support Aeschylus' assumption of a landing by Apollo 'on the shores of Pallas,' and Prasiae lies in the direct line between Delos and Delphi.

285. χρόνος καθαιρεῖ πάντα γηράσκων ὁμοῦ.

An interpolation, as most editors agree, yet surely not 'spurious,' but an Aeschylean line quoted by some commentator which has strayed into the text. Cp. *Prom. Vinc.* 981: ἀλλ' ἐκδιδάσκει πάνθ' ὁ γηράσκων χρόνος.

328-9. } ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τεθυμένῳ

341-2. } τόδε μέλος . . .

This is generally translated (*sc. ἐστί*) 'Over the victim this is the song.' For ἐπὶ I suggest ἐπι—'This is the song appointed for the victim.' Cp. 543: ποινὰ γὰρ ἐπέσται, and 393-4 (*codd.*): ἐπι δέ μοι γέρας παλαιόν; also *Agam.* 547.

632. Is not Verrall's translation of εὐφροσι, 'for loyal hearts,' supported not merely by the general sense of the passage (788-798) in the *Agamemnon* to which he refers, but also by *Choeph.* 109: φθέγγον χέουσα κεδνὰ τοῖσιν εὐφροσιν? Cp. also *Eumen.* 992.

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PLAUTUS, *RUDENS* 160-162.

Sed o Palaemon, sancte Neptuni comes,  
 †Qui Hercules socius esse diceris,†  
 Quod facinu' uideo ?

THESE lines involve, to begin with, a mythological difficulty. Who is Palaemon, the companion of Neptune and the associate of Hercules? Editors of the *Rudens* suggest that the Greek sea deity Palaemon, who is *Neptuni comes*, may also, naturally enough, be called the *socius* of Hercules, 'the god of travel by land and sea.' Admittedly the latter association is vague, if not unwarranted. The Greeks recognised two deities with the title Palaemon—viz., Heracles Palaemon (The Wrestler) and Melicertes Palaemon. The connecting link is the Phoenician Melcarth. Mythological dictionaries give, with some variation and uncertainty, the following account. Melcarth, the strong god who travelled about the world subduing monsters and otherwise helping mankind, bore so strong a resemblance to Heracles that the Greeks equated the two. Later the same Melcarth approximated to Poseidon and became a subordinate sea god, Melicertes, with the cognomen Palaemon. This cognomen more properly belonged to Heracles, but, because the identification with Heracles Palaemon was more original, it passed over to the new deity as a traditional epithet.

In Greece itself no attempt appears to have been made to think out a relation between Heracles Palaemon and Melicertes Palaemon. They remained distinct. To a Greek in North Africa, however, Palaemon would mean Melcarth, and Melcarth was, so to speak, two-faced. He was strong god and also sea god. The scene of the *Rudens* is North Africa, and Diphilus intended his play to have a distinctly local colour. For instance, there is the temple of Venus near Cyrene; the priestess Ptolemaïa, whose name calls up the Ptolemies; and the reference to the cultivation of silphium and asafoetida. What more natural than that Sceparnio, invoking in a moment of excitement the local divinity, should think of his double function?

The obelised line was regarded as a

*locus desperatus* till Wackernagel discovered that Greek proper names in *-ns* were taken over in Old Latin as fifth declension nouns. Lindsay added Hercules to the list, and his substitution of *Herculæi* for *Herculis* is accepted as the remedy for the line. But the hiatus *qui Her.* remains a difficulty. *Qui* the relative pronoun is not stressed. The hiatus would be more defensible if we could read *qui* the interrogative adverb. This suggests a fresh interpretation of the line. What precisely Diphilus wrote will never, perhaps, be known; nor may one presume to conjecture how freely or how closely Plautus has translated. It is conceivable that Diphilus gave to Sceparnio a parenthetical comment or question indicating the oddness of the conjunction of sea god and land god. However that may be, in the Latin version a parenthetical question is, on the whole, more in keeping with the excitement of Sceparnio's mind and with his quick wit, than a relative clause which seems to drag awkwardly. And point would be added to the line if we recognised in it a Roman reference. To a Roman, Hercules was the god of commerce, of money-making. Sceparnio is witnessing a shipwreck. What Plautus may have intended him to say is this: 'How can you, Palaemon, the god of the sea, be called the partner of Hercules, the god of money-making?' They that go down to the sea in ships are likely to lose their all. The Roman audience might be left to infer that, in North Africa, Palaemon the sea god was associated with Hercules. And yet the possibility is that such an inference was unnecessary. For the Romans, as early apparently as 238 B.C., identified the Greek sea god Palaemon with their own harbour god Portunus. Among the witnesses for the identification are the Virgil scholia on *Aeneid* V. 241 and *Georgics* I. 437. And Professor Lindsay has given me evidence from the *Philoxenus Glossary*, which has many identifications of Roman with Greek deities. Some are the ridiculous guesses of Greek monastery teachers, but some

are good because they come from Festus. And among the good he ranks *Portunus*: Παλαίμων δαίμων θαλάσσιος. For Festus says (278, 20): *Portunus*: *qui et Palaemon* <alio nomine dicitur> *inter deos* <qui mari praesunt, a Romanis> *colebatur*.

Now Portunus was, in later times, associated with Hercules. There is the witness of a bas-relief from the arch

of Trajan at Beneventum. On it Portunus is portrayed by the side of Hercules (and Bacchus). Had the Romans of the time of Plautus made this Portunus-Hercules association? If they had, there would be no need to go outside the circle of purely Roman ideas for the explanation of l. 161, which could be added to Fraenkel's *Plautinisches im Plautus* collection.

J. D. CRAIG.

### CICERO, *DE FINIBUS*, V. 5, 12.

In the last book of the *de Finibus*, which gives the Peripatetic doctrine as understood by Antiochus, Piso tells us, c. 5, that in spite of allegations to the contrary there is no substantial difference or inconsistency in the views expressed in divers works by Aristotle and Theophrastus on the *Summum Bonum*; but he admits discrepancy in their answers to the question whether Happiness is under the Wise Man's control, or even he is dependent on Fortune. Just as in *Acad.* I. 9, 33, where an account is being given of the gradual divergence of the Peripatetics from Platonism, it is Theophrastus, not Aristotle, who is accused of denying the all-sufficiency of virtue for happy living, so here Piso says that Theophrastus on *Happiness* (cf. § 77) allowed so much to Fortune that on his doctrine Wisdom could not ensure Happiness; 'so let us hold fast to Aristotle and his son Nicomachus,' using Theophrastus with the reservation that on the power of virtue a more robust view is proper. This more robust view is, we find, that, though the goods of the body are ingredients<sup>1</sup> of happiness, §§ 37, 40, 68, 71, virtue so completely outweighs all else, §§ 71 and 90-2, that to be wise *ad beatissime vivendum parum est, ad beate satis*, § 81; cf. 95. Piso admits, § 75, that his Peripatetic teacher, Staseas, attached much importance to goods other than virtue—compare, besides Aspasius 25, 9-11 H, the expositions of Peripatetic Ethics in Diog. Laert. V. 30; Stob. II. 132, II W—*sed haec ab Antiocho . . . di-*

*cuntur multo melius et fortius quam a Stasea dicebantur*.

We do not seem to have any passage in the *Magna Moralia* or the *Eudemean Ethics* in which the question is considered, whether anything has power to overthrow the happiness of the Sapiens. *E.E.* 1214b 14-27 distinguishes (cf. *E.N.* 1099b 1; also Stob. II. 130, 4) constituents of Happiness from prerequisites, but does not tell us what would be the condition of the good man who had not got the prerequisites. And passages such as *E.E.* 1219a 27-39; 1249a 18; *M.M.* 1184b 26 would be not unwelcome to Antiochus. But the matter is discussed in *E.N.* Bks. I., VII., X., and there<sup>2</sup> the teaching is quite plain, being the weak doctrine ascribed in *de Finibus* to Theophrastus in contrast with Aristotle. *E.N.*'s teaching is so clear that we are not surprised to learn from Aspasius, p. 24, 24, that one passage in it, 1099b 2, was thought by some μαλακωτέρως εἰρήσθαι, inasmuch as in spite of low birth, etc., ἐνεργεῖν ἐν προηγουμένοις<sup>3</sup> ἐνδέχασθαι, ἐνεργούντα δὲ εὐδαιμονεῖν ἀνάγκη. Our wonder is how anyone who had read *E.N.* could find in it the stronger view.

But the power of interpretation is great; and the *Vita Marciana* of Aristotle shows what could be done with two inconvenient passages in *E.N.*, one of them being the passage which Aspasius tells us was thought rather weak. We read (see Rose, *Aristotelis Fragmenta* [Teubner], p. 434, 5): to Ethics Aristotle added the doctrine that Eudaimonia is not laid up in externals as most

<sup>1</sup> Hence Arius in Stob. II. pp. 129-130 is not following Antiochus. Cf. *ibid.* 46, 13 on Critolaus.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Pol.* 1332a 8-27.

<sup>3</sup> Hence we need not alter Stob. II. 50, 12. Cf. Heylbut's index s.v. προηγέσθαι.



men believe, or in the soul only as Plato held, but ἔχειν μὲν τὸ κύρος ἐν ψυχῇ, ρυπαίνεσθαι δὲ καὶ θλίβεσθαι μόνον (*E.N.* 1099b 2, 1100b 28) by defect in the externals. These expressions he used with their proper force, since things 'fouled' have inwardly their beauty unimpaired, its concealment being superficial only, and things 'straitened,' having in reality the same magnitude, only seem smaller.

This extract at any rate shows that, while *E.N.* is certainly misrepresented in *de Fin.* V. 5, 12, we should not thence infer that the author of the view there expressed had never read the work. And since the *Vita Marciana* is a product of that school of thought among the Platonists, of which Antiochus was the founder, there is nothing improbable in the supposition that its misinterpretations come down from him. Thus its assertion, p. 431, 16, that

after the death of Speusippus the members of the School send for Aristotle, and he and Xenocrates succeed to it in most orderly fashion. Aristotle taught in the Lyceum; Xenocrates in the Academy, where Plato too had taught,

is not far removed from the account that Varro gives, following Antiochus (*cf.* Zeller II. ii. 14, 2), in *Acad.* I. 4, 17; where see Reid, and *cf.* *de Fin.* V. 3, 7, on the 'Old Academy,' as Antiochus conceived it. To the theory that Aristotle was 'Plato's most genuine disciple,' *DL.* V. 1, such sophistries were indispensable.

It is not only the passage in the *Vita Marciana* that we are thus led to put back as early as Antiochus; in Aspasius we find some comment on ρυπαίνουσι, *E.N.* 1099b 2—unfortunately, p. 30, 9-11, he does not remark on the word θλίβει, 1100b 28—that may have given Antiochus a hint. We are told by *E.N.* 1099a 31 ff. that Eudaimonia needs the external goods. Some it needs as instruments of its activities—this re-

quirement, we may note, is much minimised by *E.N.* in X. 1179a 1—ἐνίων δὲ τητῶμενοι ρυπαίνουσι τὸ μακάριον, οἷον εὐγενείας εὐτεκνίας κάλλους· οὐ πάνυ γὰρ εὐδαιμονικὸς ὁ τὴν ιδέαν παναίσχης κτλ. On these words ἐνίων δὲ τητ. κτλ., Aspasius, p. 24, 24, tells us, as was mentioned earlier, that some thought the passage weak. To such critics Aspasius replies that Aristotle praises those who make good such deficiencies, ἀλλ' ὅμως ρύπον τινα ἐγγίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ὑπερβαλλούσης δυσγενείας, οἷον εἴ τις ἡταιρηκότος υἱὸς εἴη. πῶς γὰρ οὐ ρύπος τοῦτο, ὃν ἀπονίψαι το μὲν ἴσως καὶ ἀπορρύψειεν ὁ γενναῖος, ἀλλ' ὅμως κτλ. So it may be that an old bit of Peripatetic exegesis, which is now found first in Aspasius, suggested to Antiochus that by ρυπαίνουσι Aristotle did not mean that Happiness was impaired in its essence.

Before concluding we may note that if indeed the brief passage, *E.N.* 1116a 12, is to be taken as absolutely forbidding suicide, the teaching of *E.N.* is, in fact, much more robust than that of the other schools, which all permit suicide under circumstances: see *Laws*, 873c 5; *de Fin.* III. 60 (Stoics); I. 49 (Epicureans). But at least the later Peripatetics permitted it, *Stob.* II. 144, 12; and Ajax appears among the moral heroes of the hymn on Hermias, who himself committed suicide according to Callisthenes in *Did. in Dem.*, col. 6, 55, if—see Diels-Schubart—Wilamowitz has rightly emended the passage. In any case, the important difference between *E.N.* and the robust schools is not so much in respect of the power of Fortune over the Sapiens, as in regard to the nature of the activities which constitute happy living. So far as the practical life is concerned, *E.N.* still regards those activities as mainly political. C. M. MULVANY.

## QUINTILIAN AND CRETICS.

In reply to a suggestion (*C.R.* XXXIX., p. 17) that the words *non subest uera uis* and *ut quae summo solo sparsa sunt semina* in Quintilian, *Institutio*, I. 3, 5, were quoted from some comic

passage written in cretics, Mr. Colson (*ibid.*, p. 167) courteously objects that in a book written in Latin prose a group of cretics long enough to form a tetrameter must almost inevitably occur

now and again, and therefore that the rhythm of the passage in question may be mere accident.

It is of course true that prose does every now and then drop accidentally into the rhythms of verse; so careful a writer as R. L. Stevenson, for example, begins Chapter XXVI. of *Kidnapped* with a tolerable line of blank verse. 'The month, as I have said, was not yet out'; a few paragraphs farther on we find—

'The bridge is close under the castle hill,  
An old, high, narrow bridge with pinnacles  
Along the parapet; and you may conceive  
With how much interest I looked upon it,'

while entire pages of Dickens will scan in this manner. So also Quintilian now and again slips out of prose, with its cretic final rhythms, into what, so far as mere scansion goes, might be taken for cretic verse. Mr. Colson has cited one example, I. 3, 16, *dictu deformia et mox uerecundiae*. Here are others, all that we have been able to find in the first, tenth, and twelfth books.

- (1) I, 1, 16, institutis mentem infantium iudicet.
- (2) I, 1, 19, quantum in infantia praesumptum est temporis.
- (3) I, 2, 3, oratorem nisi bonum uirum iudico.
- (4) I, 2, 29, concipere singulis tantum praesentibus.
- (5) I, 4, 7, auris est exigere litterarum sonos.
- (6) I, 4, 18, ex *συνδίσμῳ* magis propria translatio.
- (7) I, 7, 34, diligentissimus fuit et in filio.
- (8) I, 11, 12, quae neque oratori sunt necessaria.
- (9) I, 12, 3, uocis ex plurimis flexibus seruiunt.
- (10) I, 12, 15, quae discenda oratori futuro puto.
- (11) X, 1, 13, sed etiam ex proximo mutuari licet.
- (12) X, 1, 32, eruditus potest esse perfectius.
- (13) X, 1, 98, cuilibet Graecarum comparari potest.
- (14) X, 2, 14, plurimi qui similitudinem pessimi.
- (15) X, 3, 1, effectorem ac magistrum dicendi uocat.
- (16) X, 3, 7, danda sunt uela dum nos indulgentia.
- (17) X, 3, 28, si tota mente in opus ipsum derexeris.
- (18) X, 5, 3, plerumque a Graecis Romana dissentiant.
- (19) X, 5, 23, iuuenibus flosculos omnium partium.
- (20) XII, 1, 44, sed uel unum ex iis quodlibet sufficit.
- (21) XII, 2, 8, a dicendi praeceptoribus traditur.

- (22) XII, 2, 21, nec uoluptatibus terreni corporis.
- (23) XII, 2, 23, inter multas potest esse contentio.
- (24) XII, 3, 2, discendo cognita ad iudicem perferet.
- (25) XII, 3, 7, aequitas optimo cuique notissima.
- (26) XII, 10, 26, Attice dicere esse optime dicere.
- (27) XII, 11, 19, non quibus studuimus sed quibus uiuimus.
- (28) XII, 11, 27, in rebus bellicis consequi non potest.

There are also very numerous groups of three cretics, and of course innumerable instances of the very common clausulae V2 and V2, -o--o- and ----o-. If these are average samples, then in the whole of the *Institutio* there are some ninety-three passages in which a group of four cretics or their metrical equivalents are to be found.

But if we examine individual cases, there are very few in which a reader who was not looking for them would find cretic lines. Nos. 1, 3, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21, and 24 have no diaeresis, besides other defects in some of them; Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19, 22, 23, 28 can be heard as cretic lines only by pausing in the most unnatural places—for instance, in 4 one would naturally pause after *concipere*; in 5, there is no pause before the first word of the 'verse,' the passage runs, *an cuiuslibet auris est*, etc.; in 6, there is no pause before *ex*, and there is a slight one before *magis*. We need not labour this point, especially to anyone so well versed in rhetoric as Mr. Colson; in just the same way Stevenson's 'blank verse' might be justified (and rightly) by arguing that no one would naturally read it as such—i.e., no one would make even the slightest pause after *pinnacles* or *conceive*.<sup>1</sup> The same consideration applies to Mr. Colson's own example; one would naturally read the passage, *multa uapulantibus dictu deformia / et mox uerecundiae futura / saepe dolore uel metu acciderunt*, quite destroying the tetrameter.

We are thus left with Nos. 2, 8, 11, 13, 20, 25, 26 and 27. We may at once

<sup>1</sup> Of course a poet may have as many 'run-on' lines as he pleases; but a verse quotation in prose almost inevitably involves a pause before and after it.

reject Nos. 2, 8, and 13 as violating the rule that the second syllable of the molossus must not bear the accent (see Lindsay, *Introduction* to his larger edition of Plautus, *Capitui*, p. 89). Nos. 1, 11, 20, and 27 might at a pinch enter into a cretic system in comedy; but there is nothing in the least poetical about their diction, and in particular they show no signs of alliteration. There remain, therefore, only Nos. 25 and 26, concerning which we are not prepared to swear by Iuppiter Lapis that they are not quotations.

Contrast now the words cited from I, 3, 5. There is a pause before *ut*, marked in modern editions, such as

those of Radermacher and Mr. Colson, by a comma, in more old-fashioned punctuation, which takes account chiefly of rhetorical pauses, by a colon (so the beautifully printed text published by Gryphius in 1538). After *semina* there is again a pause, although a slight one; Gryphius puts in a comma. The alliteration is very striking, *SuMMo Solo SparSa Sunt SeMina*; accent clashes with metrical ictus only in the last syllable of *summo*. As to the words *non subest uera uis*, their claim to be part of a verse rests on the company they keep plus their own alliteration.

R. A. POPE.

H. J. ROSE.

#### SOPHOCLES, *PHILOCTETES*, 1140.

ἀνδρὸς τοι τὸ μὲν εὖ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν. The order of words compels τὸ μὲν εὖ to go together. τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω. From this, and C.R. XL. 2, 61, it follows that the meaning required is: 'It is the part of a manly man to urge his own plea, *virī est suam causam agere*, to plead his own case.'

Why not then read ἀνδρὸς τοι τὸ μὲν οὐ δίκαιον εἰπεῖν? οὐ, *sui ipsius*. Jebb, Appendix, tells us that Axt and Madvig read οὐ, and Wecklein οὐ. But if δίκαιον here means 'plea'—and apparently it does—then οὐ makes better sense, and is closer to the MSS., than either οὐ or οἶ. Jebb objects that Sophocles affords no example of οἶ = εἰαυτῷ. But there is authority in Sophocles for the genitive οὐ. It is quite possible that, in a chorus, Sophocles may have used, once in a way, the Homeric and Ionic οὐ, which is almost identically the reading of the MSS. here. Why not add S. *Philoct.* 1140 to passages like Plat. *Rep.* X. 617 E, where old reflexive forms should be restored in Attic authors? εὖ, genitive, would not be more extraordinary here than ἵ, nominative, in Plat. *Symp.* 175 C and 223 D,

and in Soph. *Oenomaus frag.* ἡ μὲν ὥς ἰ θάσσον', ἡ δ' ὥς ἰ τέκος παῖδα.

E. J. BROOKS.

#### *QUI NON RISERE PARENTI.*

IN his interesting note on the famous Vergilian crux *Qui non risere parenti*, etc., Professor Rose gives a valuable lead by his suggestion that a parallel should be sought among the colloquialisms of the comic stage. May I be permitted to supplement it by reminding your readers of an instructive passage from Terence?

*Di boni, quid hoc morbid? Adeon homines inmutarier*

*Ex amore ut non cognoscas eundem esse!*

*Eunuchus*, 225-6,

In this it will be seen that the shift is not from singular to plural, after the more ordinary fashion of the 'construction according to sense,' but from plural to singular; and that the anomalous singular word is a pronoun exactly as in the Eclogue.

ETHEL MARY STEUART.

## REVIEWS

### SOME SCHOOL BOOKS.

*Kurzgefasste lateinische Sprachlehre.* K.

JAX und E. KALINKA. Pp. 1-121.

Wien: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag. R.M. 1.50.

*Lateinisches Uebungsbuch.* K. JAX. Pp.

1-143. Wien: Oesterreichischer Bundesverlag. R.M. 1.70.

*Kurzgefasste griechische Sprachlehre mit Uebungsstücken.* E. KALINKA und K.

KUNST. Pp. 1-152. R.M. 1.50.

THE first of these three volumes covers the whole of Latin Accidence and the

more familiar Syntax of the Latin sentence, such as the uses of the Cases, Conditional Sentences, and Oratio Obliqua, in forty-seven lessons. Either the German pupil is more receptive than the English or the editors are optimists: the last lesson covers Oratio Obliqua and the uses of the Prepositions, certainly too heavy a meal for an English digestion. Apart from this the book is excellent both in matter and manner. The exposition is clear and

simple, and the arrangement and printing admirable. It is a little disconcerting to find, both in this and the companion volume, the misprints corrected in a prefatory index. The companion volume consists of translation from Latin and sentences to be put into Latin, again in forty-seven lessons, covering the same ground as the Grammar. The pieces for translation are well graded and interesting in substance. Their Latinity, though on the whole good, is not always above suspicion—e.g. 'cum duces Graecorum in suam quisque patriam *navigaret*' (this may be a misprint) on p. 29; 'libertatem reconciliare' (meaning 'to recover their liberty') on p. 37; 'Capitonem putas mercatorem' ('You are *thinking of* the merchant Capito') on p. 53; 'cum in adversarios plurima beneficia contulit' (should be either 'conferret' or 'contulisset') on p. 62; 'iam diu mihi in animo erat' ('I *have* been thinking for some time') on p. 63. The vocabularies, indexes, and printing are models of what such things should be.

The Greek Grammar and Translation is on similar lines to the Latin, though both the Syntax and the Translation are more elementary; the arrangement and exposition are admirable, and the printing a delight. But a good deal of the Greek of the passages composed for translation into German is open to serious question and some of it downright bad—*μεσιτεύω*, 'to quote' (p. 72); *βουλή* for *βούλησις* (p. 75); *θεραπευθήσοιτο ἂν* for *θεραπευθείη ἂν* (p. 80), put into the mouth of Demosthenes! *οἷς* for *ὧν ἕνεκα* (p. 84); *θρηνεῖν τὴν διάνοιαν*, apparently meaning 'to grieve at heart' (p. 85); *αὐτοῦ*, the third person pronoun, as the first word of a sentence (p. 84 and p. 91); *ἡγνόουν τίς ἦν* (p. 93) for *τίς εἶη*; *τὴν παρούσαν γυναῖκα* for *παρούσαν τὴν γυναῖκα* (p. 98); besides many forms unknown to Attic prose, such as *κικλήσκω*, *προσέρχεται*.

*The Gateway to Latin Composition.* By E. A. SONNENSCHN, C. S. WILKINSON, W. A. ODELL. Pp. 1-242. Oxford: University Press. 3s. 6d. net.

The binding of this little volume illustrates its title by a charming picture

(suggestive to the Londoner of the familiar *Glimpses into Metroland*) of the Arch of Constantine, through which the eye is led to a pleasing vista of sylvan scenery. But if the guileless reader hopes to be led along any primrose path of 'Latin without tears' he is doomed to disappointment. This path to Latin prose is just as stony, no more and no less, as any other. Each exercise is prefaced by the necessary rules of syntax, summarised, but usually entirely adequate: the grading of the exercises and the exposition and illustration of the rules are admirable. There are a few cases where the statement of rule seems incomplete or inexact: (1) P. 66, 'cum-clauses used adjectivally . . . take the indicative'—e.g. 'Athenis eo tempore eram cum mortuus est'; but if 'eo tempore' is replaced by 'tum' the cum-clause is no longer adjectival in any recognisable sense of the word, and yet it takes the indicative. (2) P. 67, as an illustration of Latin's more accurate use of tenses appears 'cum rediissem, Londinii eras' (which appears in the text as 'cum redius, Lseondinii eras'); but would not this normally be 'cum redii'? This is one example of a somewhat mechanical way of framing and applying a rule. Surely in most cases of 'cum' with past-perfect subjunctive the 'cum' clause, if not exactly causal, is in some sense 'preliminary' to the main clause. Other examples of the same tendency are: (3) The rules for the use of the reflexive pronoun, in subordinate clauses, referring to the subject of the main clause. These rules appear in §§ 85, 97, 143, 153, and 156 as though they were each a separate rule for the particular kind of subordinate clause, instead of being explained as various examples of the sub-oblique construction: this is both unscientific and perplexing to the student. (4) P. 159, 'verbs of rejoicing, grieving, etc., may take . . . a *quod*-clause to indicate the cause of the emotion, the verb being in the indicative or the subjunctive, according as the cause *implies a fact or not*.' The average student will take this to mean that 'quod' with the subjunctive gives a reason which is *not true as a fact*. (5) Similarly on p. 163, 'instead of the

subjunctive of a verb denoting *can*, *must*, or *ought* in the main clause (of a conditional sentence), the indicative is used *idiomatically*. 'Idiomatically' is both untrue and misleading, and will cause the student to write 'si robustior fuissē, potui me defendere,' 'si melior vir fuisses, debui te venerari,' as thousands of students in our schools and universities are writing as a result of this common but misleading statement of the rule. On the whole, however, the book offers safe guidance, and is excellent in method.

*Dulwich Latin Exercises for Middle Forms.* By H. F. HOSE. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co. 3s. 6d. net.

The exercises, which are designed to cover a four years' course, are based on Sonnenschein's *Parallel Latin Grammar*, which they follow closely in the matter of order and arrangement. In all four stages sentences and continuous prose are used side by side—an excellent idea. Both are well chosen, and the right amount of help is given in the way of notes and vocabularies.

*Latin Reader for Secondary Schools.* By D. E. HAMILTON and J. O. CARLISLE.

Pp. 1-319. Harrap and Co. 3s. 6d. As no indication is given as to the stage of Latin for which this collection of pieces is designed, it is impossible to judge of its suitability. It is divided into two parts, and the first part ranges in 40 pages from sentences of five or six words to extracts from Virgil, and in a simplified passage of Livy leaves the following sentence—'igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius urbis servandaeque patriae M. Furius Camillus dictator dictus magistrum equitum Scipionem dixit'—without any note on the construction of 'servandae patriae.' The book is nicely illustrated, but it is not easy to see what useful purpose it is meant to serve.

*Latin.* By C. W. SIEDLER. New York: Globe Book Co. 1s.

This is a drill-book of Latin accident and syntax—a comprehensive review of the essential principles of the Latin language as taught in the best American high schools.' It is all in tabulated, even tabloid, form; much obviously

must be left out, but it is a serious omission not to notice the 'primary tense' use of the perfect in dealing with sequence of tenses. A good deal of the classification is very unscientific, and one or two suggested explanations are puerile: 'the essential meaning of the gerund is "carried on," or "done" (*gerundum*—*gerere*): the essential meaning of the gerundive is to "carry" (*gerere*), because in modifying a noun it "carries" the main idea of the combination.' The best part of the book is the preface, which declares that the 'main objective is to stimulate dynamic expression through a multiple sense appeal.' A good shilling's worth.

From the fact that *Teaching High-School Latin* (by J. B. GAME, Ph.D., Litt.D.; Chicago Press; \$2.00) is a revision and enlargement of a handbook that originally appeared in 1907, made in response to a wide and constant demand, we must infer that there is a considerable public to whom it appeals. It covers the whole ground in a way that no English book would attempt, ranging from the furnishing the Latin teacher with reasons for the faith that is, or ought to be, in him (including testimonials from big business men) to the offering of 'tips' as to the best way to teach the declensions. The best part of the book is suggestions for work in the first, second, third, and fourth year of Latin (in which the necessity in the early stages of constant drilling in accident is wisely emphasised), and the chapter on class-room equipment. Written prose composition is deprecated as involving the following evils: 'That of copying from a brighter pupil's paper or from an old exercise-book that has come down almost from father to son; that of laboriously digging out the sentence, setting it down on a sheet of paper, and forgetting all about it for ever afterwards; and that of the teacher's simply calling for the exercise, taking it home, and grading it in accordance with the keys furnished by the kind-hearted publishers.' Are we to take this as a serious estimate of the average learner and teacher of Latin in America? If so, the demand for this handbook becomes more intelligible.

*The Close of the Second Punic War.* By H. E. BUTLER. Pp. 1-182. Clarendon Press. 3s. 6d. net.

This is Livy, Books 29 and 30, partly in the original and partly in translation, on the same lines as the same editor's *Jugurtha*. These books, not very commonly read, tell the moving story of the downfall of Carthage, and are Livy at his best. The proportioning of original text to translation in the present edition is judicious. The editor's name vouches for the scholarship of the translation and notes. The Introduction, partly historical and partly literary, gives just what is wanted in reasonable compass, and includes a brilliant little character sketch of the elder Scipio.

*Caesar in Britain.* By W. E. P. PANTIN. Macmillan's Elementary Classics. 2s.

This is an excellent little book. Part I. introduces the pupil to the story of Caesar in Britain through simple conversations and letters. Part II. is narrative based directly on Caesar; and Parts III. and IV. are letters describing the disaster to Sabinus and Cotta, and Quintus Cicero's defence of his camp against the Nervii. The narrative throughout is direct, simple, and interesting, avoiding the difficulty of Caesar's longer periods, and yet sufficiently varied to avoid monotony and to afford practice in the normal syntax. The historical introduction is excellent, and the maps and illustrations are just what are wanted.

*Test Examinations in Latin.* By C. A. F. GREEN. Methuen. 1s. 3d. net.

These are a series of thirty-six test papers for students working to the matriculation standard, each paper including grammar, translation, and composition. They seem admirably suited to their purpose.

*Greek Social Life.* By F. A. WRIGHT. The Library of Greek Thought. J. M. Dent and Sons. 5s. net.

Mr. Wright shows good judgment in making his Introduction short and

letting his authors speak for themselves, in confining his attention mainly to Athens, and finally in the selection of his extracts. For the earlier ages Homer, Hesiod, Theognis, and Herodotus are used, but sparingly; for the main Athenian section the authors quoted are Aristophanes, Xenophon, and the orators, including Demosthenes' lively speech against Conon; it is strange to find no word from Thucydides or Plato, but something must be left out. Mr. Wright's own translations are about half of the whole volume; they hold their own well with the rest.

*Greek through English.* By A. S. WAY, D.Litt. J. M. Dent and Sons. 3s. 6d.

It is a sound maxim in teaching to proceed from the known to the unknown, and, if words of Greek derivation were current in everyday English, Mr. Way's proposed method of teaching Greek might be defensible. But Mr. Way's first few vocabularies (of words which the pupil must know if the method is to be of any value) include the following—calotype, anchusa, asplenium, tansy, salpiglossis, chionodoxa, ornithorhynchus, apteryx, phylloxera, ascidian, aorta, hepatic, chyme, chyle, and other choice specimens of what 'every schoolboy knows.' Mr. Way, avoiding (according to his preface) the attempt to 'pour a quart into a pint flask,' proceeds to pour a whole bathful into a wineglass by including in his little primer Epic, Ionic, Doric, Aeolian, Hellenistic and mediaeval Greek. What is the use of teaching boys to write *γράμματα ἰσίου θερμοῦ ἐστίν, ἐν αἷς ἰσίου ἔχουσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὸ θερμόν, ἢ οὐ γιγνώσκωμεν τὰς ἐκάστου ἀνθρώπου ἰδiosisυγκράσεις?* And what are we to make of an etymology that derives *Πάν* (the god) from *πᾶς*, or of a syntax that teaches that the Greek for 'whomsoever he saw' is *ὅσους ἂν ἴδοι* and distinguishes between *ἐάν τι ἔχῃ* and *εἰ τι ἔχοι* as 'temporary uncertainty' and 'absolute uncertainty' respectively?

H. WILLIAMSON.

## THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY.

*The Cambridge Ancient History*. Vol. III.: 'The Assyrian Empire.' Pp. xxv + 821; 17 maps and plans. Cambridge: The University Press, 1925. 35s.

THE inevitable has happened, and what was to have been volume iii. has grown into volumes iii. and iv. One consequence is that the last six chapters of this volume, which deal with Lydia and Greece, are difficult to judge; in part because they imply a knowledge of Persian history which is still to come, and partly because they form an introduction to the history of Greece, and we cannot yet be certain that the foundations have been well laid. The greater part—five sevenths—of the volume, however, deals with Assyria, the later Babylonian Empire, and Palestine; and I need not repeat the criticisms which I made—as a general reader only—in reviewing the two earlier volumes. We still have instances of lists of meaningless names, as of Egyptian kings on p. 265, though Dr. Hall has told us, a few pages earlier, that 'the details of what we know of the internal history of Egypt during this period are trivial.' But Mr. Sidney Smith gives, in general, a very clear account of the Assyrian Empire, and Dr. Campbell Thompson is positively eloquent on the fall of Babylon.

But Dr. Thompson is not very lucid in his accounts of the cuneiform votive tablets and of Babylonian astronomy. And there is at least an apparent confusion of thought when Mr. Smith writes, on p. 90, that the gods of Assyria 'were benevolent and beneficent, and reliance might be placed on their mercy,' and on the next speaks of the gloomy religious fanaticism natural to the Assyrians. Dr. Thompson says: 'In the East, when a foreign invader speaking a different language from the defeated race occupies the conquered land permanently, the older inhabitants must of necessity sink into an inferior position.' Why in the East? It may be ungracious for one who has never attempted the task, and cannot be aware of its difficulties, to complain of Dr. Cook's chapters on the history of Palestine; but with their constant confusion

between the narrative of the events (themselves sufficiently complicated) and the explanation of the dates and values of the various books, and parts of books, of the Old Testament, they are almost unreadable.

Nor is confusion lacking in the chapters on Greece—due partly to the fact that six different writers have been called upon to deal with the period 900–550 B.C.; though only one was thought necessary for the Assyrian Empire, and only one for Israel. Not only is the narrative in consequence wanting in unity, but owing to an arrangement by which the two chapters which deal with Greece as a whole (those on colonisation and on the growth of the city state) come after those dealing with the individual states (Ionia, the Dorian States, Early Athens, and Northern and Central Greece), the reader is generally expected to be already in possession of facts which have still to be related. Knowledge of the colonising activities of the Ionian cities is, for example, assumed in c. xxi., and imparted in c. xxv. We miss, too, a general account of the physical features of Greece, and, in particular, in the chapter on colonisation, of the important differences between them and those of Macedonia. There are other minor obscurities: 'Thus the rule of Pantaleon and his sons at Olympia coincides almost precisely with the rule of the Cypselids in Corinth' (p. 546); but the Cypselids are not yet explained, and the argument cannot be followed. 'The states on the Saronic gulf, *despite their concentric Amphictyony*, must have been politically educated by their trade with the more advanced cities of Asia Minor' (p. 693). The Calaurian league has been shortly spoken of eighty pages back, and there is nothing here to show that the same league is meant; and what is the meaning of 'despite'? Yet 'the general reader is constantly kept in view throughout.' More important is the fact that the section on 'Spartan Eunomia' is inadequate; a much more thorough account of the citizen's training is required; for it is fundamental for the understanding of

the position of Sparta in the days of her pre-eminence.

A more general and, to me, vital defect is the absence of any explanation of the sources of Greek history for this period; we have only vague references to 'Greek traditions,' or definite ones to known and unknown writers (Antiochus, for instance), with no preliminary attempt to explain their value; except in the case of Athens, where we are told something of the writers of Attic history (though nothing of *their* materials), and that the *Constitution of Athens* 'embodied the results of the researches achieved by Aristotle's predecessors down to the second half of the fourth century'—a statement that is neither adequate nor accurate. We should have been glad, too, of some account of the value of Greek sources for the history of other countries (to explain such statements as 'it is certain from Greek sources that the main body of Kirua's adherents were Ionians,' etc.), and especially of Herodotus for Egypt; it is not sufficient simply to give a reference to Wiedemann and How and Wells in the bibliography.

There are other special matters which call for notice. It is poor historic reasoning to say, as Dr. Cary does:

'At the lower end of the lists [of Attic kings] we meet with figures which were almost certainly reproduced from the genealogies of various noble houses. In 'Codrus' we readily recognize the eponymous ancestor of the Codridae. . . . The names 'Alcmaeon,' 'Megacles' and 'Ariphron' taken singly might not excite suspicion, but since all of them recur in the pedigree of Pericles, the greatest though uncrowned king of Athens, it is fairly obvious that they were foisted in *ad maiorem Periclis gloriam*.'

What explanation can be given of the name 'Codridae,' unless it be derived from a 'Codrus'? Was there no Alcmaeon at the head of the Alcmaeonidae? And if an Alcmaeon and a Megacles could be important persons in the sixth century (the story of the former, by the way, as told by Herodotus, does not add to the glory of Pericles), why not also in the eighth? What evidence is there, moreover, that any of the Atthidographers wanted to glorify Pericles? They certainly did

not, if the *Constitution of Athens* 'embodies the results of their researches.'

Dr. Cary rejects the statement of Aristotle that the Thesmothetae 'were appointed to commit to writing and publish the statutes of Athens. . . . It is incredible that such simple clerical work should have required the permanent establishment of six supplementary officials of high rank. Besides, Aristotle himself acknowledged the common and credible tradition that the first written record of Athenian laws was made, not by the Thesmothetae, but by Draco.' The drawing-up of a code is not simple clerical work; and the meaning of the passage in Aristotle is surely that the Thesmothetae had to record the several judgments as made, as a guide in future cases. This was one step towards the publication of a fixed and classified code. That the Thesmothetae had originally judicial duties as well is probable enough.

Professor Myres' chapter on colonisation is little more than an uninspired list of colonies and their founders; and is not always accurate at that. On pp. 631-2 we are told that the most important of the 'more or less coherent groups of settlements' on the north coast of the Aegean, namely, that around the three promontories of Chalcidice, was due to Chalcis. On pp. 651-2, 'only Andrian colonies are recorded by name' on the Athos peninsula, though there may have been earlier settlements from Eretria; while on Pallene there were the Eretrian cities of Mende and Scione. For Professor Myres this is not unimportant, for 'differences of origin, and clash of local interests, kept these groups distinct and unfriendly to each other,' and early quarrels between Corinth and Eretria 'left a deep feud between Potidaea and Scione, for example, which comes to light in Herodotus' story of Timoxenus' (viii. 128). For others, however, the inaccuracy will not be so serious, for Herodotus' story implies, if anything, friendship between Potidaea and Scione. Professor Myres also says that the Chalcidic towns were synoecized in Olynthus by Critobulus of Torone; which seems to show a confusion between Hdt. VIII. 127 and Thuc.



I. 58. Dr. Cary mentions (p. 618) 'a Greek-speaking tribe with the name of Chalcideis' already established in Chalcidice before the arrival of the Euboean colonisers; Professor Myres knows nothing of this. Neither refers to Harrison's article in *C.Q.*, 1912, nor to more recent work by Allen and West in *Cl. Phil.*, 1923, and other American journals. If the history of Greece is to be as minutely subdivided amongst different writers as it is in this volume, we should at least expect a high standard of accuracy. We ought also to be spared misleading analogies: 'noblemen coming from their castles' (p. 696), and the Spartans in 530-20 having a refugee problem similar to the one confronting the Greek Government to-day (p. 684).

There appear to be more misprints than in earlier volumes. The following may confuse: p. 115, 'the death of Necho in 663'; p. 121, 'it is not surprising that Shamash-shum-ukin secretly allied himself, about 654-653, with . . . Necho of Egypt.' On p. 255 the misplacing of a bracket has caused an error; the sentence should presumably read: 'Painozem died in the sixteenth year of Siamon, who probably

reigned about twenty years (970-950), and was succeeded by the ephemeral Hor-Psibkhenno,' etc.; in the next sentence there is then no need to explain Painozem as 'the high-priest (*i.e.* Painozem II.).' P. 517, 'seventh century' (*bis*) should be 'sixth.' Several place-names are spelt in different ways in the text and on the maps, as Dër, Ed-Der, and Der-ez-Zor on pp. 5 and 49, and maps 1 and 5 (the index helps the confusion). On p. 656 we are told that Cardia was a joint colony of Miletus and Clazomenae; on map 14 it is marked as Chian. On map 13 Byzantium, Chalcedon, and the other Megarian settlements in the north-east are given as Ionian, but Megara Hyblaea and Selinus as Dorian. Many places, important for following the argument in the text, are omitted in the maps, as Tartessus, Daphnus in Locris, the northern Asopus. The maps of Greece are primitive (especially that of Attica, which looks like a reproduction of the old Austrian map); why, when accurately-contoured maps of Thessaly, Attica, and the Peloponnese are available? The two plans of Jerusalem are not given a scale.

A. W. GOMME.

### SLAVES AT ATHENS.

*The Size of the Slave Population at Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries before Christ.* By RACHEL LOUISA SARGENT. Pp. 136. University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XII., No. 3, 1924. \$1.75.

THE starting-point of all discussions on this theme is the statement of Athenaeus that in Attica there were 400,000 slaves. Professor Sargent begins with a review of the controversy which this figure has raised, and concludes with the majority of modern critics that it is a wild exaggeration. In addition to many inconclusive arguments, there are two which require to be underlined. (1) The total declared wealth of Attica in the days of Demosthenes did not exceed 6,000 talents. (2) The total quantity of imported wheat at the same period did not exceed 1,200,000 bushels. Given these starting-points, it matters little

what value we attach to the various uncertain factors of the equation; in any case we cannot bring out the result  $x = 400,000$ .

The original part of Professor Sargent's work lies in a more detailed study of the various categories of slaves than has hitherto been attempted. In the absence of sufficient data her individual conclusions are of necessity tentative. But she makes a good point in observing that the slave-owners who figure in the speeches of the Attic orators can mostly be proved to have been well-to-do, and that their 'familiae' must have been high above the average. She also proves satisfactorily that the total population of land-workers in Attica, both free and slave, cannot have exceeded 20,000 or so, for the cultivable area did not surpass 150,000 acres, and her estimate of one worker to 7 or 8 acres,

which she derives from Cato, finds support in Columella. Moreover, her final aggregate of 60,000 to 70,000 slaves about 350 B.C. (and of 70,000 to 100,000 in the days of Pericles) accords well with a declared wealth of 6,000 talents, and an importation of 1,200,000 bushels.

We may therefore conclude that the nails which Professor Sargent has driven in Athenaeus' coffin will hold; and they were worth driving, for he is the chief support of those who cling to the theory that slavery was indispensable to Attic culture.

M. CARY.

### THE BUDÉ DEMOSTHENES.

*Démosthène : Harangues, Tome II.* Texte établi et traduit par MAURICE CROISSET, Membre de l'Institut, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925. Paper, 20 frs.

THIS edition bears a name that has long been familiar and honoured wherever the Classics are studied. Croiset's introductory essays are graceful, sometimes incisive, always readable. Here and there they can hardly be regarded as definitive—on the Anaximenes question we hear much of Weil and Foucart: of Wendland and Nitsche we hear nothing at all.

The spelling is eccentric. *φιλονεικεῖν* (V. 3, 25, etc.), though in Vol. I. we have *φιλονικίας* (XV. 17) with the note '*φιλονικίας* Blass: *φιλονεικίας* S.' *Ποτίδαιαν* in VI. 20, but *Ποτειδαιαν* in VII. 13. *λειτουργεῖν* (V. 8), *εὐδοκίμησαν* (VII. 20), *ὑπογυιότατα* (XII. 12), *ἐτέρωθι* in the sense of *ἐτέρωσε* (XVII. 16), *ἄχρισ οὖ* (X. 51) are all un-Attic. *ἐνεκεν* (V. 6, VI. 13) should not disfigure the text of Demosthenes. Of *παρακαλέσειν* (VIII. 14) and *ἐγκαλέσει* (XVII. 19) I forbear to speak.

Misprints abound. I have noticed the following: VI. 18 *πίεσεσθαί τε* for *π. τι*, VIII. 8 *ἂ Δ.* for *ἂς Δ.*, IX. 9 *τ' ἄλλα* for *τάλλα*, IX. 24 *πέραν*, IX. 28 *διωρορύγηθα*, IX. 32 *ἀγνωθετήσαντες* for future participle, IX. 39 *ὁμομολογή*, IX. 45 *ἔμελλον* for *ἔμελεν*, IX. 49 *ἀπολελωκότας*, XII. 17 *διαλύσασθε . . . γινώσκοντες* for *διαλύσασθαι . . . γινώσκοντας*. In X. 27 *δ μὴ γένοιτο, οὔτε* the *μὴ* is presumably a misprint for *μήτε*; in X. 6 *συνεδρεύουσιν* should be future.

Of a more serious sort are the omissions of words and phrases, all of them tacit: V. 22 *δοκεῖν*, VII. 7 *οὔτοι* after *οἱ κύριοι τῆς ψήφου*, VIII. 53 *ποθ'* after

*ὅπως μὴ*, IX. 8 *τὸ in τὸ τῆς*, IX. 49 *δ' in οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ*, IX. 68 the second *τὸ in τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι*, *ibid.* *ἀν before ἀπώλοντο*, X. 19 *ἢ μὴ δέον after εἰ δέον*, X. 65 *τῷ in ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ*, *ibid.* *αὐτόν after Κερσοβλέπτῃν*, X. 72 *ὄντας after ἐσχάτους*.

Is it in compensation for these lacunae that some elfish spirit has obtruded a *τὰ in οὔτε τὰ πρὸς* (IX. 46), another before *τριάκοντα* (X. 37), and a *γὰρ in ἢ μὲν γὰρ οὖν* (X. 2), for which there is no warrant whatsoever?

The critical apparatus is short—I had almost said, too short: a Paris editor might be expected to verify the readings of the Parisian. But without going so far as Dicaeopolis in *Ach.* 909, I must warn the reader that what apparatus there is, is quite unreliable.

Croiset often prefers the vulgate reading, or a conflated reading, to the reading of S. One must enter a caveat where the reading of S is given wrongly, or not given at all.

V. 5: *ἐγνῶτε τὴν τε τῶν ταῦτα πείσαντων κακίαν καὶ τὸν τὰ βέλτιστ' εἰρηκότ' ἐμέ.*  
'Post *ἐγνῶτε* S add. τότε: om. cett.'

But it is after *τῶν* that S adds *τότε*; and *καὶ τὸν τά*, on which Croiset has no note of any kind, is the reading of FA. S has the obviously right *καὶ τὰ*.

VII. 14: *συμπέμπειν τοὺς συμπλευσομένους μετὰ.*  
'*συμπλευσομένους* S vulg.: *πλευσομένους* LFB.'

It would take a good deal to convince me that this is Greek. In point of fact S has *not* got *συμπλευσομένους*, nor has any other MS. but the Augustanus; repetition of this sort is one of the besetting sins of A.

VI. 32: *ὡς οὐδ' ἴν' ἄλλως.*  
'*ἄλλως* SL'B: *τὴν ἄλλως* vulg.'

But all MSS. have *οὐδ' ἵνα*, which is followed in SF by *ὡς ἄλλως*, in A by *τὴν ἄλλως*.

VII. 34: *ὀπισχνεῖται ἐπὶ τοῖς μὲν αὐτοῦ φίλοις . . .*

Is this αὐτοῦ to be taken as the rare attributive use = *ipsius*? Surely we want the reflexive, and S has ἐαυτοῦ.

VII. 44: ὡς ὑμῶν γ' οὐκ ἂν δυναμέων οὐδ' ἀναγκάσαι  
Καρδιανούς τὰ δίκαια ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι.  
'ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι SL': πρὸς ὑμᾶς ποιῆσθαι vulg.'

There is not the slightest hint that S has οὐδέν, not οὐδὲ, and omits τὰ δίκαια.

IX. 57: 'ἐκβαλεῖν S solus: ἐκβάλλειν cett.'

X. 14: 'πάντας S: πάντας τοὺς vulg.'

In both cases the readings ascribed to S and to the vulgate should be interchanged.

V. 19: φοβούμαι μὴ πάντες, περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἑκαστος,  
ὀργιζόμενοι κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν  
πόλεμον.

'ἑκαστος, ὀργιζόμενοι AY: ἑκαστος ὀργιζόμενος S.'

But the balance of the sentence demands περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἑκαστος ὀργιζόμενος—resuming previous statements—then κοινὸν emphatic at the head of its phrase. And, *me teste*, S has ὀργιζόμενος.

X. 70: καίτοι λοιδορίας χωρὶς, εἰ τις ἔρατο  
without a hint that S has κ. λ. εἴ τις  
χωρὶς ἔροιτο.

X. 13: ἀμφοτέρ' οὖν ὀδεν, καὶ αὐτὸν. . .

The reflexive is necessary, and the aspirate is unmistakable in S.

X. 21: Croiset reads ὑπερῆσθε without mentioning that SA both read ὑπερῆσθε. Yet ὑπερῆσθε is the form used in § 20.

Croiset is not kind to conjectures. He does not mention Herwerden's οὐδένας (V. 14) though it is commended by the antithesis to Θηβαίους, nor Seager's μηδὲν (IX. 67) which seems to me indispensable, nor Weil's συλλαμβάνειν (VI. 15), nor Cobet's ἐκάστοις (IX. 74) though ἑκαστος leaves ἀγαπητὸν in the air. He retains ἡδέως ἂν ἰσως ἐρωτήσων (IX. 70) without remark. In IX. 72 he accepts Reiske's erroneous <αι> περὶ

τὴν, apparently under the impression that it is the reading of MSS. other than S. But he refuses to accept Tournier's ποιησάμενος in V. 8. Now after νῦν ἡσθῆσθαι ὅτι we might have had ἐποίησατο μὲν followed by a δέ clause, the thing now *perceived* being the δέ clause or the contrast between the two clauses. But to print ἐποίησατο . . . λειτουργεῖν καὶ . . . is to print nonsense.

In XVII. 5 Croiset retains τοῦτο πρῶς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους against SA<sup>1</sup>F<sup>1</sup>, though no attempt is made to render this in his translation. So at IX. 65 μηδὲν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐνόν, where the ἐν is not Greek, the translation seems to imply Francke's ἔθ'.

In V. 21 S has νυνὶ γὰρ Θηβαίοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι πέπρακται τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἰσχιστα . . . FA have κάλλιστα πέπρακται without τι. Croiset reads κάλλιστα πέπρακται τι. Yet in that case we must carry on not πέπρακται but πέπρακται τι with αἰσχιστα. Surely that is not the meaning of Demosthenes.

In XVII. 3 εἵποιτ' ἂν οἶμαι πάντες is retained against the authority of SA, but inadvertently placed after, instead of before, εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι. (I use the word 'inadvertently,' as there is no suggestion in the Apparatus of an editorial transposition.) The retention leaves us with an accus. and infin., ἀρπάσαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς . . . ὑπομείναι, dependent on εἵποιτ' ἂν.

I am loth to cavil at a volume which bears a *clarum et venerabile nomen*. But I am constrained to express my opinion, for what it may be worth, that this Budé text is in no sense a 'texte établi.'

W. RENNIE.

## GREEK AND LATIN COMPARED.

*Traité de Grammaire comparée des Langues classiques.* Par A. MEILLET et J. VENDRYES. Pp. xiv + 684. Paris: Champion, 1924. 40 frs.

As is implied by the title, and as the authors point out in the Introduction, this is what might be called a 'Parallel Comparative Grammar of Greek and of Latin.' In view of the kind of relationship that exists between the two languages this is the only treatment

possible; and a work of this nature is justified by the fact that probably most comparative philologists become acquainted with the earlier stages of the Indogermanic languages through the study of Greek and Latin. This work by the two most distinguished Indogermanists in France is, save in one respect, the best on the subject. From the plan of the work it was, perhaps, inevitable that the treatment of syntax

should be less complete than that of phonology and morphology. One would have liked a fuller description of, for example, the use of the subjunctive in Latin, and of the development of the accusative with infinitive construction in the same language. At the same time, there is a very real compensation for the step-motherly treatment of syntax, in that the authors have adopted the method—the only scientific one—of discussing together both the formation and the use of words. The cautious and sober attitude of the authors, particularly in the matter of etymology, is also to be welcomed. The following notes are intended to call attention to points in the book which appear to call for reconsideration:

P. 10: The statement that all the modern dialects of Greek go back to the *Koinē* should be qualified in respect of *Zakonian* (cf. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in d. neugr. Grammatik*, pp. 8 ff.). P. 16: The expression 'les conquérants indo-européens' should rather be 'les conquérants de langue indo-européenne.' Pp. 27, 32: It should be noted that the sign *hē* was used in a mangled form to indicate the breathings. P. 31: It is going too far to say that 'les Latins n'avaient d'aspirées'; the transcription of Greek *κ* by *g*, e.g. *gubernare* = *κυβερνᾶν*, and of Greek *π* by *b*, e.g. *Burrus* = *Πυρρὸς*, seems to show that, at any rate, as compared with the Greek unaspirated stops, the Latin sounds were aspirated. The transcription of the Greek aspirates by the Latin *tenuēs*, e.g. *Telis* = *Θέλις*, points in the same direction. P. 32: The letter *c* continued to represent the voiced sound in the contraction *C*. = *Gnaeus*. P. 104: The *ι* of *πέρυνη* may not correspond to the *a* of Lat. *patēre*, but may (as has been suggested) be the vowel of reduplication. Pp. 118 ff.: In the discussion of the Latin accent there is no indication that a theory entirely different from that held by the authors is widely current; there ought to have been some reference to it. P. 130, § 208: It is not exact that Greek inscriptions do not separate the words; a glance at Roehl's *Imagines* will show that the use of interpuncts is common from the Gortyn inscriptions downwards. P. 134: With what is said on the subject of the

elision of vowels + *m* in verse should be compared Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, p. 68. P. 229, § 357: Reference should be made to cases like *πράσσω*, where the stem appears to have ended with a voiced consonant, cf. *πρᾶγμα*. P. 298, Rem.: What is said of the place of the augment is true in general, but forms like *ἐκαθεξόμην* are found. P. 331, § 526: The obscure Latin imperative forms in *-mino* are not mentioned. P. 361, § 573: Skutsch's explanation of the termination *-ōsus* at least deserves a reference. P. 402, § 637: It should be pointed out that side by side with *θεόδοτος* there is also found *δωρόδειπνος*. P. 407: There should be a reference to the regular use of the nominative *deus* as vocative. On the same page, l. 13 *o-n* appears to be a misprint for *o-m*. P. 431, § 682, Rem.: The Ionian-Attic *πούς* appears to be explained by assuming that *ou* represents original *ō*. There is no reason to suppose it did so elsewhere in those dialects: this theory is clearly dangerous. P. 452, § 718: The Latin *Ioue* is compared with the Skt. *dyavi*, in spite of what is said on the subject of the locative on p. 422. The discussion of forms like *pēde*, etc., is not convincing. P. 461: In the chapter on the pronouns there is strangely no mention of the Greek *ἐκείνος*, *οὗτος*, *αὐτός*, or of Lat. *ipse*. P. 472, § 747: The statement that the cardinal numerals from 5 to 10 are indeclinable is not strictly true for Greek: Lesbian has the analogical gen. plur. forms *πέμπων*, *δέκων*. It may be noted here that a number of statements throughout the book on the subject of the Aeolic dialect must be modified in view of the evidence now available in Lobel's *ΣΑΠΦΟΥΣ ΜΕΛΗ*, Oxford, 1925. P. 485, § 764, Rem. ii.: The remarks on the use of Lat. *nos* for *ego* are not sufficiently explicit. It should have been made clear that in the Classical period *vos* is not used instead of *tu*. Pp. 488 ff.: The classification of genders as 'animate' (masculine and feminine) and 'inanimate' (neuter) is not really helpful. Explanations from this point of view of the existence side by side of *oculus* *δμμα*, *pes manus*, and the like, can hardly be anything but fanciful. P. 500: It should be indicated that the quotation

from Horace, *ad Pis.*, consists of parts of two lines. In this note on the use of the nominative we expect a reference to the Greek construction *ἐφ' αὐτὸς παρέσθαι*.

This book, in welcome contrast to most French works of the kind, has an excellent index.

J. FRASER.

#### AUTHORS OF ROME.

*Authors of Rome.* By JOHN ARBUTHNOT NAIRN, Litt.D., B.D., Headmaster of Merchant Taylors' School; with an Introduction by J. W. MAC-KAIL, LL.D. London: Jarrolds, 1924, 4s. 6d. net.

IT is a remarkable comment on the present state of English education that a distinguished classical scholar should think it desirable and find it possible to write a book of more than 300 pages on Latin literature without any quotations in the original language—in fact, with hardly a word of Latin anywhere, for even the titles of works are translated. It is true that two lines of Virgil are quoted, one in a footnote and one in the chapter on Livy, but other authors are less fortunate.

The book is not in any sense a history of Latin literature; that is to say, it does not deal with the development of literary form or thought, but is rather a collection of essays, any one of which may be read separately as an introduction to the work of the author concerned. We are duly warned in the preface that the reading of this book is not intended to supersede the study of the authors themselves; but how many will go back to the originals? In some ways the very merits of the work, which are numerous and obvious, may act as a hindrance, for the reader may believe that he has sounded the depths when he has only skimmed over the surface. In our opinion, a few carefully chosen Latin quotations would have proved a great incentive to the reader who knows a little Latin and might learn more with the help of the Loeb series.

The chapters are of unequal merit—or perhaps we should say of unequal interest; and this may be due to the subjects. Thus, it is difficult nowadays to rouse enthusiasm for Terence; except, perhaps, at Westminster, his purity of style *laudatur et alget*, and we

feel that Dr. Nairn reflects the spirit of the times; he prefers Plautus, though he is perfectly conscious of his faults as well as his good qualities, and does impartial justice to both.

We get a very fair idea, from the chapter on Cicero, of the character of the man and the quality of his oratory. Considerable space is devoted to the *pro Milone*, on the ground of the completeness with which it exemplifies the rules of rhetoric. This is perhaps justifiable, but less attention is given to other speeches which are, from some points of view, of more importance, or, at any rate, of greater interest. Little more than a page is devoted to all the *Verrines*, and only a few lines to the *divina Philippica*—a phrase which should be intelligible without translation, even to Dr. Nairn's readers.

Dr. Nairn does not make the mistake of underrating the philosophical writings, whose importance lay not in any originality, but in the fact that they were an attempt to popularise Greek thought at Rome.

The essay on Lucretius is good; it contains a clear account of the poem's contents, and does justice to the poet's influence on modern science by the insistence on the operation of fixed laws in the Universe, but we should have welcomed a little more detail: for instance, an addition to the translations at the end of the book by the inclusion of something more about primitive man, and perhaps a description of the working of the atomic theory in a particular case, such as the science of optics.

In writing of Catullus the author, while dealing appreciatively with the finer sides of the poet's nature, passes too lightly over the coarseness which is so conspicuous in many of the poems, and the chief subject of the *Attis* is so modestly concealed that no reader ignorant of the poem could even guess

at it. Among the translations we should like to see Campion's paraphrase of *Vivamus, mea Lesbia*.

Caesar is of interest chiefly to the historian, and particularly to the student of military history. In this connexion reference might well have been made to the influence of the *Commentaries* on the military mind, with special reference, perhaps, to Napoleon. Livy, on the other hand, is an artist, and requires, and obtains, a different kind of treatment. Dr. Nairn's critical appreciation of his historical methods is one of the best parts of the book.

It is difficult to escape criticism in writing of Virgil. Dr. Nairn is fairly successful, but he attempts too much. The account of the *Eclagues* is too much of a catalogue, and the analysis of the *Aeneid*, though admirable, would leave us cold, if we had not the poetry itself in mind. On the other hand, many of the criticisms of the poem and its purpose and the character of Aeneas are excellent. The influence of Virgil on Italian and English poetry is described at some length, but we hear little of his influence on Roman literature.

The work on Horace is good throughout, and the criticisms on Ovid are sound and discriminating. The comparison of Seneca to a literary divine writing sermons is apt, and equally just is the description of him as 'the solitary classical writer who believed in progress in the modern sense.' The tragedies are dismissed with summary censure, and reference is made to their harmful influence on French drama.

Though no translation can do justice to the style of Tacitus, the dramatic and rhetorical qualities of his history can be appreciated through a good paraphrase, and this object is successfully attained. Juvenal, in his turn, is well analysed; but whereas the author realises the partiality of Tacitus, he has little to say about the prejudices of Juvenal, who picks out as typical everything that is ugly, and turns his back on the fairer side of Roman life.

Perhaps the exigencies of space made certain omissions necessary, but we were somewhat disappointed to find no substantial reference anywhere to either the Elder or the Younger Pliny.

J. F. DOBSON.

### CAESAR'S CIVIL WAR.

*C. Iulius Caesar: De Bello Civili*. Edidit A. KLOTZ. Editio maior. Pp. xii + 184. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926.

A PREFACE of ten pages gives in a short compass an interesting view of the nature of the tradition with many illustrative examples. Then at the foot of each page of text we have full critical notes, giving the readings of the MSS. and such emendations as seem most worth recording.

I add a few criticisms on certain passages. I. 5<sup>2</sup> K. proposes *tumultuariarum actionum*: could C. have written such a word? 10<sup>2</sup> *re deliberata*: why not *deliberata re* (Holder), which would account better for the omission of *re*? 62<sup>1</sup> *deduxerat rem*: I have noted in my edition that in this phrase C. always places *rem* first, and that *rem* (*rē*) *deduxerat* would help to explain the MS. corruption *reduxerat rem*. 67<sup>4</sup> K. reads *luce* and *praesentiam*, but would no doubt admit that neither this reading

nor any that has been proposed bears the stamp of Caesar's style. II. 4<sup>4</sup> K. does not mention Dübner's *inuitatis*. 5<sup>3</sup> K. adopts Bücheler's *publicis locis custodiisque*, which does not seem satisfactory. 10<sup>5</sup> K. prints this difficult passage thus: *ita fastigato atque ordinatim structo ut trabes erant in capreolis conlocatae, lateribus luto, musculus ut ab igni tutus esset, contegitur*, taking *musculus* as the subject of *contegitur*; but this, even after you remove the objectionable comma after *luto*, is not the language one expects from Caesar. It is, however, probable that he incorporates in his second book the reports of subordinate officers whose Latin may not have been as good as his own. III. 11<sup>1</sup> K. reads *Vibullius his expositis non minus*, etc., but suggests *his diebus expositus Corcyrae*. Madvig's suggestion *Vibullius expositus Corcyrae* is simple and good. At the end of the sentence K. approves of *quam de mandatis agi*, omitting *ante*

and *inciperet*. 18<sup>a</sup> K. ingeniously suggests insertion of *liber, tanquam servus* between *profectus sum* and *reductus*, and takes *bello perfecto* with the following sentence, admitting the rather illogical use of *nihilominus*. 28<sup>a</sup> K. attributes *immissis* to H. J. Müller; I printed it in my text in 1900. 62<sup>a</sup> K. prints *quibus ille cognitis* without comment; I may refer to my note on the point. 69<sup>a</sup> K. retains the ungrammatical *x pedum munitione*, where the preposition *ex* or *de* is needed. 87<sup>7</sup> he retains the incorrect *sunt*. 101<sup>2</sup> he retains *sunt ad incendia* though there is some MS. authority for *aptae ad*.

It is obvious that there are many passages in Caesar, especially in the B.C., that defy restoration, unless some other and better MSS. should be discovered, and it is perhaps time that the flood of emendation were stopped. With this edition, for which we thank Mr. Klotz, to supplement the excellent edition published by A. Holder in 1897, the inquisitive student will find all the information about the text that he is likely to need.

I have noticed three misprints: Pref., p. v, l. 6, read 105 for 115; p. 44, l. 3, *prudorum*; p. 52, l. 1, *propripuit*.

A. G. PESKETT.

### THE SILVER LATIN BOOK.

*The Silver Latin Book*. Part I. Edited by J. S. PHILLIMORE. One vol. Pp. ix + 233. Glasgow: Alex. Stenhouse, 1925. 5s. net.

THIS volume deserves something more than the passing mention usually accorded to a book of selections. It contains specimens of the literature of the early Empire, beginning with the partly Augustan Manilius and ending with the partly Flavian Pliny the Elder. The editor hopes to issue two further volumes, representing the later productions of silver Latinity. The present book, though it covers scarcely more than half a century, includes some thirty authors. The classically-trained undergraduate is often considered to have deserved well of this period if he has read a book of Lucan; if 'by reason of strength' or from a dread of the 'unseen' he has added Persius and a small portion of Seneca's moralising, he is regarded as admirably equipped. To all such persons, and perhaps to some more mature scholars, Mr. Phillimore's book will open up refreshing vistas. They will find there some interesting and well-written instruction in farm management by one who knows his subject; they will also find doctors discussing in excellent (and in one case elegant) style such themes as the dignity of the medical profession, the use of vivisection, and the respective advantages of dieting and dosing. On other pages scholars make contributions to the study of Cicero and Virgil, a noted

jurist expounds in homely language some aspects of the Law of Property, a geographer deals with Britain and Ireland, and Pliny treats of witchcraft and various superstitions, and also of agriculture and of Rome's far-flung commerce. Besides all this, one finds a great deal of poetry and philosophy, some history, and various other things. We have, in short, a compilation both enterprising and interesting, which throws much light on the various activities of the Romans, as well as on their thoughts and ideals. A pleasing feature of the poetical section is the ample space allotted to the unduly neglected Calpurnius Siculus.

Mr. Phillimore informs us that his book is 'partly intended for advanced classes in schools.' There is no doubt that a sixth form could use it very profitably for regular or occasional reading, and it is to be hoped that many classical teachers will make the experiment. But even the most fanatical devotee of plain texts will wish that the editor had added a few explanatory notes. The vocabulary of some of the authors included in his book is very imperfectly and carelessly treated in the ordinary Latin dictionaries. Apart from questions of words and phrases, there are several passages in the work which require for their interpretation some items of special knowledge not easily obtained by the young student or even by the busy teacher. Very brief notes, frequently less than a line,

would suffice to remove most of these difficulties. One cannot help thinking also that the interest felt by the pupil or the private student would be greatly stimulated, and the teacher's burden considerably lightened, by an occasional word on other matters. The extract from Scribonius Largus, with its reference to *deus noster Caesar*, loses some of its effect if the reader does not know that the Callistus to whom it is addressed is the famous freedman of that name. The heading of Claudius' speech on the adlection of Gallic senators might have been made more illuminating by giving the date (A.D. 48) and the subject, together with a reference to Furneaux, *Tac. Ann.* XII., App., and perhaps also to Mr. Hardy's essay; all this could have been done without using more lines than the present heading occupies. The adoption of the above suggestions would, I believe, make the book more generally useful and more widely used, and would not increase its bulk by more than a few pages. But even in its present form the selection contains a great variety of matter well within the comprehension of intelligent students.

As it is probable that a second edition will be required before long, I venture to suggest some other points for consideration. Poems XLIII. - XLV., taken from the Codex Vossianus, are here dated '*circa* A.D. 50.' This is a rather bold assumption; in any case, A.D. 50, even with *circa* before it, will not do for the poem on Hope, whose elaborate patchwork contains a small piece almost certainly taken from Lucan. The fact is that Nos. XLIII. - XLV. (to say nothing of XLVI. f., which the editor simply classes as 'First Century') cannot be dated even approximately, and it is misleading rather than helpful to insert them amongst the poems of a period to which they very possibly do not belong. Their omission would leave space for the printing of a complete tragedy of Seneca. This would serve the purpose of the book much better than the nine passages (about 600 lines in all) which the editor has selected from various tragedies. Seneca, even if his plays were not intended for the stage, must

be judged as a dramatist and not merely as a writer of rhetorico-philosophical verses. Extract LVII. (Sen. *Herc.* 662-758) is, in its actual context, a shocking misfit, but when isolated, as here, it puts on a false garb of respectability. In the headings of the extracts from the *Laus Pisonis* and from the Cod. Einsiedlensis some of the guesses as to the authorship of the poems might well have been mentioned; they are a matter of some literary interest, especially in a collection which includes large portions of Lucan and Calpurnius Siculus, and complete anonymity is apt to pall upon the young student. The interest of the selections from Columella X. would have been much enhanced if the prose preface had been printed, either immediately before them or (with appropriate cross-references) among the prose passages.

By some inadvertence the well-attested dates of the Emperor Claudius are qualified with a *circa* (p. 155), and '*scripsit circa* A.D. 50' is prefixed to the very passage which proves that Pomponius Mela was writing not later than A.D. 44 (p. 162). The dates given for Asconius are only one of two possibilities. It is by no means certain that the gentile name of the jurist Proculus was Sempronius.

The proof-reading has been entrusted to several pairs of eyes, and has generally been done with care, but there are too many commas, especially in the extracts from Celsus and from Columella, where the text is sometimes quite unintelligible as it stands. Celsus and Columella are also burdened with some orthographical monstrosities. Misprints occur on p. 47, line 100, *saeua* for *saeua*; 150. 14, *utique* for *ubique*; *ib.* 31, *quidem* for *quidam* (probably); 187. 28, *Octobr* for *Octobr.*, or rather *Octobris*; 196. 2, *Ueterem* for *Veterem*; 218. 7, *turbia* for *turba*; 221. 3, *familia* om. after *uilla*; 223. 24, *paludis* for *paludes*; 224. 17, *corde* for *cordi*; *ib.* 32 f., punctuation wrong? 229. 15, *coniectione* for *coniectatione*; *ib.* 29, point of interrogation required after *inuenimus*; 232 (ref.), XXVII. for XXVIII. There are a few cases of words wrongly divided. The circumflex should be removed from *deum* (p. 49. 404), *liberum* (102. 30), and



*denām* (217. 33). On p. 78 a poem is left unnumbered.

The preface makes good reading;

one's only regret is that it does not say why the *Aetna* has been excluded.

W. B. ANDERSON.

### THE TEXT OF JUVENAL.

*Die Überlieferung Juvenals.* Von Dr. ULRICH KNOCHE. Pp. 75. (Klassisch-Philologische Studien, Heft 6.) Berlin: Ebering, 1926. Paper.

MR KNOCHE'S object is to make clear the relations between the several MSS and groups, and so to reconstruct the archetype; and with this aim he wishes to enlarge our apparatus criticus and build recension upon a broader base. He complains that Leo and I use too few MSS and despise most of those which Mr Hosius collated and which Jahn professed to collate. We despise them because we find them despicable. If such MSS as Hosius' VBM are to be included in an apparatus, no MS can well be shut out; for they contain nothing good or seemingly ancient which is not also to be found in other MSS which contain more of it.

His attempt fails, and was doomed to failure, because he misconceives the problem and does not properly define his terms in his own mind. According to him there were two ancient recensions,  $\Pi$ , whence P and its relatives descend, and  $\omega$ , whence descend the vulgar MSS; and he aims at separating these two strains, at tracing them back beyond our MSS, and at so drawing near to the archetype. But the sign  $\omega$ , as he uses it, is ambiguous and delusive. The readings in which the vulgar MSS differ from P are of three distinct sorts: wrong readings where P is right, as I 52 *Herculeas* (*Heracleas* P); right readings where P is wrong, as XV 26 *haec* (*hic* P); readings where either may be wrong and either right, as IX 148 *uocatur* (*rogatur* P). Mr Knoche, without discriminating these three sorts, sets forth in quest of MSS containing the largest number of all of them together, believing that such MSS will present the text of  $\omega$  in its most original form. They will not: those MSS which contain most readings of the first sort (which is much the most plentiful) will present the least original form of the text of  $\omega$ . These false lections were not all invented at once by a single malefactor: they are the gradual deposit, century after century, of human ignorance and conceit; and if any large number of them are derived from a recension, it was probably Carolingian, whether or no we father it on Heiric of Auxerre. The ancient fragments, though often dissenting from P, possess but few of them. Bob. in the fourth century has XV 25 *deduxerat*, but not 20 *Cyanes*, 27 *Iunio*, 36 *uulgi*<sup>1</sup>; Ambr. in the sixth has XIV 289 *uda*, but not 270 *pingui*, 287 *lacertis*, 315 *sed te*; and Vind. even in the ninth has only eight out of forty. Seruius knows none but XV 168 *nescirent . . . extundere*, and Priscian only three,

<sup>1</sup> Mr Knoche says on p. 38 that Bob. has an  $\omega$ -text: if so,  $\omega$  was something very different from the  $\omega$  which he is seeking.

VI 329 *dormitat* (if that is wrong), XIV 30 *moechos*, 121 f. *illam . . . uiam*. The readings (other than certainly true ones) for which a common ancient origin may be sought with some hope of success are those of the third sort, such as I collected on p. xxv of my edition. At present Mr Knoche is seeking what he will never find, because it never existed.

And he has turned his face in the wrong direction. What we need are MSS in which the Carolingian vulgate has not thoroughly overlaid an older substratum; and my seven, AFGLOTU, are selected as being such. What Mr Knoche wants are MSS completely smothered; and when he finds one he calls it an almost pure representative of  $\omega$ . If an older substratum emerges,—e.g. *libis* III 187 in L,—he assigns it (p. 27) to the  $\Pi$ -stem and not the  $\omega$ -stem. He argues, after Mr Hosius, thus (p. 25): 'A ist aus einer  $\Pi$ -quelle ursprünglich hergeleitet; A hat aber dieselbe vorlage wie MLHVB; also stammt diese auch aus  $\Pi$ '; but his minor premiss is false. What A is we know exactly: it was copied from a MS almost identical with P which had been corrected by a hand much resembling P<sup>3</sup>. But L is something far different: its alliances with A are almost always alliances with A's second and superimposed element; it seldom sides with A where A sides with P. In other words, A and L have not the same substratum. The substratum of A is virtually P; that of L is nothing similar and is not definitely known; for many true readings, such as XV 26 *haec*, which in A belong to the added element, may belong to the substratum in L, and probably do.

I note some errors of detail.

P. 11 *autem* in VII 217 is said to be 'sinnwidrig': it is the most appropriate word in the whole Latin language (*thes. ling. Lat.* II p. 1592 58-81).

P. 14 the *si dormit* of Par. 8072 (and P<sup>3</sup>) in VI 329, which Mr Knoche like Leo accepts, is quite obviously an attempt to correct the metre of *si iam dormit*; and Pithou's *iam dormit* is a better one, because it accounts for the intrusion of *si*, while the other does not account for the intrusion of *iam*. The anaphora to which Mr Knoche appeals does not exist: he has overlooked *abstuleris*.

On the same page the absurd *egeum* of the same MS in VI 93, a bad conjecture for the *igneum* of P, is said to be 'gestützt durch  $\Sigma$ '. The *Adriacum* and *Aegaeum* of  $\Sigma$  are a paraphrase, of course erroneous, of *late sonantem Ionium*, which extended from the one to the other and was thought by some (Seru. *Aen.* III 211) to include both.

P. 18 'G nicht eine einzige evidente conjectur aufweist.' G has never been collated: Jahn only pretended to collate it, and I did not pretend.

P. 19 *sat*. X 310 *i nunc et GU, imungel PS*,

nunc ergo P<sup>2</sup> α: 'γ (= GU)<sup>1</sup> hat allein das richtige, das, wie der vergleich mit PS zeigt, sich nur im II-strang erhalten hatte.' PS no more show this than P<sup>2</sup> α show the contrary. *i nunc et* is the common original, diversely corrupted in PS and P<sup>2</sup> α, each tradition preserving something which the other has lost.

P. 21 'cod. class. lat. 41 Bodleian.' is not the name of T nor indeed of any other MS.

P. 23 an argument is built on the belief that *nolet* VI 213 is the reading of flor. Sang. 870, which does not even contain the verse. This mistake has arisen from a hasty glance at my note, where I cite *nolet* from another St Gall MS. On the same page Leo's note at VII 185 has been misunderstood with no more excuse.

P. 35 *sat.* XIV 310 '*atque* ist hier sicher falsch.' It gives excellent sense and is explained by Munro and Friedlaender. *aut* is equally good in itself, but may have been introduced by a reader who was puzzled by *atque* as Mr Knoche is.

The treatise is laborious, minute, and methodical in design and construction; and although it contains a good deal of bad reasoning, notably on pp. 17, 18, 36, 37, 38, it may be regarded as marking a stage in the slow improvement of Juvenalian criticism since the early years of the century. Mr Knoche is at least delivered from the yoke of P, and has an open mind with respect to spurious verses. At VI 373 (pp. 54 f.) he defends the order '*tonoris tantum damno*' against the *damno tantum* of P by the good observation (though he does not state it correctly) that in Juvenal the adverb *tantum* is always in contact with the word to be emphasised.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

### GENIUS.

*Die Entstehung des Geniebegriffes. Ein Beitrag zur Ideengeschichte der Antike und des Frühkapitalismus.* Von Dr. EDGAR ZISEL, Professor in Wien. Pp. viii + 346. Tübingen: J. B. C. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1926. M. 12; in linen, M. 15.

JUSTLY dissatisfied with the results obtained by the 'abstract method' in existing studies of Genius, Professor Zisel, after a brief definition, traces the growth of the conception in time and examines the relation of that growth to social and economic change. The result is a work important alike for sociology and for the history of thought. Points treated by the way are the various metaphysical and religious notions behind the 'cult'—e.g., inspiration and natural endowment, the antithetical concept of the Philistine or 'Dutzendmensch,' the increasing impartiality with which, and the extension of the field within which, genius was recognised, the development of the views that it is rare and that it is recognised late, and the shifting of interest from the objective to the subjective, from the work of art to the artist.

<sup>1</sup> P. 17 'Leo hat schon erkannt, dass G und U auf eine gemeinsame quelle . . . zurückgehn.' Leo did not say so, I did, *corp. poet. Lat. Postg.* fasc. V p. ix 'sunt . . . inter se cognati U et G.'

The book is clearly written, concise in argument, and admirably produced. The only misprint noted is 'gelgentlich' for 'gelegentlich' (p. 41).

Of its two sections, 'Die Antiken Wurzeln' and 'Die Renaissance,' only the first concerns us. Despite his wide range here, and his contributions in other fields, Dr. Zisel makes comparatively few mistakes or omissions in dealing with the classical material. He thinks that Aristotle wrote the extant *Problemata* (*vide* pp. 41 and 91), and from a misunderstanding of the New Testament use of *δόξα* argues for a popular identification of fame and immortality (p. 74), apparently unaware of the frequent use of that word by the LXX. to render *kabôd* (of physical splendour, majesty). He fails (p. 22) to see that Plato attributes 'enthusiasm' not only to the poet and rhapsode, but also to their audience (*Ion* 535), and that his reason for not extending it to sculptors and painters lay not in mere contempt for manual crafts, but in the conception of 'enthusiasm' itself then current, in the nature and strength of the emotional experience implied. For him (p. 96) the Roman readiness to admit foreign gods into the circle 'des altüberlieferten Götterstaates' goes back only into the second century B.C. Then, we are told, Cybele was introduced. He does not realise that the 'Sonderunsterblichkeit' of the virtuous or patriotic in the *Somnium Scipionis* is Stoic rather than Platonic (*vide* p. 84), as is also the similar belief alluded to by Tacitus (*Agr.* 46, *vide* p. 87). For a parallel distinction he cites (p. 86) the Nekuia, where unfortunately it does not exist, and misses the more relevant promise to Menelaus (*Od.* IV. 561 ff.) and later beliefs in Elysium or the Islands of the Blest. He speaks (p. 85) of the 'Geniehimmel' of the *Somn. Scip.* in allusion to that feature just mentioned, and on other occasions also appears scarcely to realise that he is dealing with a scale of values that is purely ethical and not concerned with greatness of intellect or creative power, his theme elsewhere. It is, he repeats (p. 78 f.), a part of the modern conception as against the ancient that *every* truly great man must suffer martyrdom at the hands of his contemporaries; yet a few pages later (89 ff., *cf.* p. 4) the scant respect shown for opponents, living and dead, in classical times is contrasted with the modern all-embracing tolerance and appreciation. The warmth of feeling and language which is still apt to invade political or religious controversy, and the vigour which sometimes graces scholarship and criticism, are apparently forgotten.

R. B. ONIANS.

*I nuovi frammenti di Saffo.* By SALVATORE STELLA. Pp. 33. Catania: Crescenzo Galàtola, 1926.

THIS brochure contains rhythmical translations of eighteen fragments, most of them recently discovered, and three notes. Of the latter the first is a new interpretation of *frag.* 98 (Diehl), which is taken to be part of a dialogue between Sappho and a friend, the portion preserved being spoken by the friend (possibly

Atthis herself); the second proposes at l. 17 of the same fragment to read *λέπταν ποι φρίνα κίρ <τ>* *ἄσα βύρηται* (= 'devours,' as formerly thought by Edmonds), with a comma after *Ἀτθίδος*, taking *ζαφοίταισα* as a *nominativus pendens*; the third proposes a reconstruction of frag. 27, l. 13—[*Κύπρις ἀγν*] *ἀμπτρον γὰρ [ἔθηκεν ἀτρο]*.

I do not venture to criticise the Italian of the translations; but I must confess that I find Italian Sapphics scarcely more attractive than our own. Is this (frag. 27, ll. 17 ff.)—

Onde vederne il desiato incesso  
e il fulgido splendor del volto io bramo  
più che dei Lidi i carri, e vaste schiere  
di fanti in armi—

really agile and graceful in movement?

GILBERT A. DAVIES.

- (1) *Étude de la Langue et du Style de Michel Psellos*. (2) *Lexique choisi de Psellos*. By EMILE RENAULD. Two vols. Vol. I., pp. xxix + 614; Vol. II., pp. xxvii + 160. Paris: Auguste Picard, 1920.

WHATEVER else these two volumes may do for literature, they may at least serve as models of a *Vorarbeit*, and show how an author should be analysed, listed, indexed, and the like. Anyone who wishes to discover what Psellus, the great eleventh-century humanist of Byzantium, felt on any subject, and how he put it into words, need only turn to M. Renauld. In the first of the two volumes the bibliography alone covers twenty pages. Then we have Book I., *Morphologie*, dealing with the forms of all the parts of speech as used by Psellus, and Book II., his *Syntax of the Simple Proposition and of the Complete Sentence*. Here we may be inclined to question the utility of so much labour bestowed on the morphology and syntax in a time of flux, of what Hesselberg (quoted on p. 557) calls an 'abyss between the spoken and the written languages,' when men were writing neither pure Attic nor modern Greek, and *ἡ κοινή* as used by Psellus, 'langue de la tradition écrite,' was an artificial and archaistic production. There is an equal aridity about the first part of Book III. on Style, with its attempt to dissect 'la clarté, la propriété, la pureté et la précision des termes' of our writer. But all readers will enjoy the second part of this same Book III., and regret its comparative brevity. The chapters on Psellus' Life with his wonderful achievements and no less surprising vanity, on his Models, his Proverbs and Metaphors, his Comparisons, Antitheses and Descriptions (*ἐκφράσεις*), are invaluable to any student of Byzantine literature.

The second publication is merely a selected lexicon, carefully compiled, with appended lists of ordinary 'Mots byzantins,' and of 'Néologismes' found in Psellus.

Certainly 'ce fécond polygraphe,' as M. Renauld calls him, must feel that every aspect of his life, thought, and expression, has received full justice at last.

GEORGINA G. BUCKLER.

*The Byzantine Empire*. By NORMAN H. BAYNES. Home University Library. Pp. 256. London: Williams and Norgate, 1925. 2s. 6d.

DISTINGUISHED scholars of many countries have written about Byzantine history, institutions, culture, and it was time that the fruits of their work should be presented to the general reader. This has now been done by Mr. Norman Baynes with eminent success. His volume is indeed one of the best in the excellent Home University Library series. He starts with Constantine and finishes practically at 1204, when the Fourth Crusade set up the Frankish Empire at Constantinople; this marks the end of the period of greatness, for it was but a shadow of the former Empire that was restored in 1261. Mr. Baynes describes institutions and administration, social life and education, art and letters, law and religion, and the picture he presents is both accurate and vivid. He has no scope for more than a brief survey of the leading Emperors, though perhaps more space might have been given to the remarkable achievements of the Comneni in the twelfth century. His summary on the Orthodox Church leaves something to be desired, and he does not make clear that the breach with Rome in 1054 was not really due to doctrinal differences but to the opposition of the Patriarch of Constantinople to papal authority; this too was the obstacle which frequent attempts at reunion could never overcome. But these are minor defects in an admirable little book. One or two small slips may be noted, for correction in a new edition—on p. 92 'Iconoclasts' should be 'Iconodules'; on p. 210, it was Roger II. (not Roger Guiscard) who captured Thebes, and he did it in the twelfth (not the eleventh) century; on p. 218 'Roger Guiscard' should be 'Robert Guiscard.'

Z. N. BROOKE.

*Harvard Theological Studies XII*. Catalogue of Greek MSS. in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos. By SPYRIDON, Monk and Physician, and SOPHRONIOS EUSTRATIADIS, formerly Archbishop of Leontopolis. Pp. 8 + 515. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; Paris: E. Champion; London: Milford, 1925. £5 5s.

HERE is the catalogue of the Laura Library as promised last year. The Laura being the greatest monastery has most books—well over two thousand. Being the most famous for piety it has even fewer classical MSS. than Vatopedi, not as many as forty, mostly of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. None look at all as if they had any importance; the most hopeful seems a fourteenth-century Thucydides mutilated at both ends and very hard to read. It will be the theologians who will be grateful to Mr. Pierpont Morgan for enabling this catalogue to be published. E. H. MINNS.

*Avviamento allo Studio delle Abbreviature Latine nel Medioevo*. By LUIGI SCHIAPARELLI. One vol. 8vo. Pp. vii + 99. Four plates. Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 1926.

If one wants to see what progress palaeography has made in the era inaugurated by Traube one

has only to compare Schiaparelli's performance with the essay on abbreviations written by his predecessor at Florence, Cesare Paoli, thirty-five years ago. Schiaparelli's little book, while making no pretence to exhaustiveness, gives a useful and readable introduction to this difficult branch of palaeography. After explaining the importance of the study of abbreviations, he deals with their classification, with the systems used in the Middle Ages, with abbreviation signs, and with abbreviations by suspension and contraction. Like all of Schiaparelli's work, it is methodical, scholarly, and fully up-to-date. For its bibliography alone, if for no other reason, his booklet is worth having. The four plates illustrate *Notae Tironianae*, *Notae Juris*, a legal MS. with *Notae*, and the curious symbols used by Irish and English scribes.

E. A. LOWE.

*The Roman Villa at Bignor, Sussex.* By S. E. Winbolt, M.A. Pp. 14. Sketch plan and map. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

THE villa, which lies under the north slope of the South Downs, 1,500 yards east of Stane Street, is one of the largest and most elaborate in the south of England. Lysons excavated it at the beginning of the nineteenth century, revealing six well-preserved mosaic pavements, and recovering the whole plan of a building of the courtyard type. The mosaics were eventually protected by sheds, and a bath-room was left exposed. This last, after a century of neglect, has been restored 'to something like its original shape' by Mr. Winbolt. His pamphlet describes the designs of the mosaics, and briefly discusses their subjects, and explains more fully the construction of the bath building. It obviously does not claim to be a complete or scientific account of the villa or its history. No reason is given for the hypothesis that it was built in the reign of Titus, or was connected with the King of the (local) Regni referred to by Tacitus (*Agr.* 14), nor do the expansions of the excessively abbreviated inscriptions, found in the villa, command much confidence. But possession of the guide should certainly add much to the interest of a visit to the site.

D. ATKINSON.

*Bucoliques Grecs.* Tome i. Théocrite. Texte établi et traduit par Ph. E. LEGRAND. Pp. xxxii+223. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1925. Paper, 25 frs.

PROFESSOR Legrand's valuable study of Theocritus published nearly twenty years ago indicated him as the most suitable editor of the *Bucolici* in the Budé series. His first volume is a sound, though not an epoch-making, piece of work, which I should also call useful if it were less inconveniently arranged. It claims to contain neither all the works ascribed to Theocritus, nor all the editor thinks are his, but all whose authenticity has never been disputed. This involves printing eight epigrams here and reserving the rest for Vol. II., and, since the *Syrinx*, though neither indisputable nor undisputed, is also included, separating that from the other *Technopaegnia*. Moreover, Professor Legrand

follows Wilamowitz's perverse lead in shuffling the poems, shuffles them differently from his predecessor, whose order one may, by now, have mastered, and, to crown all, prints only the titles and not the numbers of the poems at the head of the page.

Professor Legrand's apparatus, which is fuller than the Oxford text in its record of variants, claims for the editor some thirty corrections great and small. Of these not many seem to me true, and some are not new, but the punctuation proposed at 15. 39 is attractive and, I think, novel. The introductions to the book and to the separate poems are judicious; so, if I except those at 7. 54 and 24. 11 on astronomical matters, are most of the brief explanatory notes. The chief feature of the translation is the use, on occasion, of a rhythmical prose, but its success is hardly for a foreigner to estimate. The printing is on the whole accurate, and the book pleasant to read and handle.

A. S. F. GOW.

*Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur.* Von ALFRED GUDEMAN: I. *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende der Republik* (Berlin and Leipzig: de Gruyter and Co. 1923). Pp. 120. II. *Die Kaiserzeit bis Hadrian* (1923). Pp. 148. III. *Von Hadrian bis zum Ende des 6. Jahrh.* (1924). Pp. 132. *Geschichte der Altchristlichen Lateinischen Literatur vom 2.-6. Jahrhundert.* 1925. Pp. 120.

THESE four neat little volumes are respectively numbers 52, 866, 890, and 898 in the 'Sammlung Göschen,' a German series of manuals covering the whole field of knowledge in something the same way as our 'Home University Library' and kindred works. The learned editor of Tacitus' *Dialogus* has put together the history of Latin literature for German readers who cannot read Latin authors in the original language. Details of the lives of the authors are given accurately, with an account of their works and a literary appreciation of them. Large type is used for the more important parts of the narrative, and smaller type for the less important. A bibliography gives lists of general works on Latin literature and of German translations of the works of Latin authors. The volumes are brightly written, the criticism is sane, and parallels are drawn from English and French literature. The work may be recommended to readers outside Germany. In the third volume (p. 97) Ennodius' birth-year is stated as 373-4, instead of 473-4. In the volume on Christian literature (at the foot of p. 48), the evidence that the Ambrosiaster commentary was already in Cassiodorus' time circulating under the name of Ambrose is ignored. On the following page the identity of Ambrosiaster with Isaac, the converted Jew, is too categorically stated, in view of the difficulties that have been raised against this view. It is very gratifying to see Commodian definitely assigned by the editor of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* to the fifth century (p. 101) against the diehards.

A. SOUTER.

*Martyrium beati Petri apostoli a Lino episcopo conscriptum edidit* A. H. SALONIUS. Helsingfors, 1926. Pp. 58.

THIS '*Martyrium*' was last edited by R. A. Lipsius in the first part of the *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* by Lipsius and Bonnet, in 1891. Dr. A. H. Salenius, who is most favourably known by his *Vitae Patrum* (Lund, 1920), has collated several manuscripts unused by Lipsius, and has appended a number of useful notes on late Latin words and phrases which occur in this interesting work. A. SOUTER.

*Sprachlicher Bedeutungswandel bei Tertullian; ein Beitrag zum Studium der christlichen Sondersprache.* Von Dr. ST. W. J. TEEUWEN, Pp. xvi+147. [Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums . . . hrsg. v. E. Drerup, H. Grimme, und J. P. Kirsch, XIV. Bd., 1. Heft.] Paderborn: Schöningh, 1926. 8 Marks.

THIS is a careful and interesting study of the Christian elements in vocabulary and meaning of words in Tertullian. The expert will find little in it that he does not know already, but the work is admirably fitted to instruct the new-comer. A considerable bibliography is furnished at the beginning, and the work is well indexed. There seems, however, to have been a deliberate boycott of British productions, against which a protest is called for here. While German, French, Belgian, Austrian, Swedish, and Dutch writings are duly registered, there is no mention or use of any of the following works, which are well worthy of a place in the list: E. W. Watson, *The Style and Language of St. Cyprian* (Oxford, 1896), which

contains important observations on Tertullian's language also; Q. *Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus*; the text of Oehler annotated, with an Introduction, by John E. B. Mayor (Cambridge, 1917); *Novum Testamentum Sancti Irenaei episcopi Lugdunensis* . . . by W. Sanday and C. H. Turner (Oxford, 1923). It is all the more necessary to call attention to this foolishness of an (inexperienced?) author, that it is not shared by Löfstedt, Thörnell, or Waltzing.

A. SOUTER.

*Studia Tertullianea, IV. De Tertulliani Apologetico bis edito.* Scriptis G. THÖRNELL. Pp. 154. Uppsala, 1926. 5 Swedish crowns.

THE MSS. of Tertullian's Apology divide themselves into two sharply defined classes. On the one hand we have the great bulk of the MSS., on the other the lost Fulda MS. and the Rheinau fragment. Each of these classes has found partisans, and the conflict between them has, especially during the last twenty-five years, been very acute. Thörnell's previous studies have shown him to be one of the acutest and best informed of present-day students of Tertullian. He has made a fresh examination of the differences between the two recensions, and has also set forth the parallel passages from the *Ad Nationes*—a very important element in the problem. His conclusion is suggested by his title-page; that both forms go back to Tertullian himself, the Fulda-Rheinau being the earlier. While the oldest MS. of the ordinary form remains uncollated, and we are still without a complete lexicon to Tertullian, it may perhaps be premature to decide, but I feel that Thörnell has made out a very strong case, and that very likely he is right. A. SOUTER.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

### PHILOLOGISCHE WOCHENSCHRIFT.

(MAY-JUNE, 1926.)

- GREEK LITERATURE.—A. Delachaise, *Notes critiques sur Thucydide (livre I.)* [Neuchâtel, 1925, Secrétariat de l'Université] (Roszbach). Careful work dealing with 44 passages in Thucydides Book I.—W. Dörpfeld, *Homers Odyssee. Die Wiederherstellung des ursprünglichen Epos von der Heimkehr des Odysseus nach dem Tageplan mit Beigaben über homerische Geographie und Kultur* [München, 1925, Buchenau u. Reichert. Pp. xv+335 and 11 plates] (Drerup). Reviewer in a long discussion disagrees entirely with D.'s views.
- LATIN LITERATURE.—E. Cocchia, *La letteratura latina anteriore all' influenza ellenica. III. Le forme poetiche della letteratura nazionale latina anteriore all' influenza greca* [Naples, 1925. Pp. xi+398] (Klotz). Completes the work. Reviewer disagrees with C.'s point of view about the stage at which Latin literature can be said to have begun.—F. Agno, *Seneca, L'Ercole furioso, versione poetica e note di critica testuale* [Padua, 1925,

Draghi. Pp. cxxii+80] (Roszbach). A critical and frequently explanatory commentary, followed by translation. A. makes full use of all recent publications and shows clear and independent judgment in discussing them.—A. Ernout et L. Robin, *Lucrèce de rerum natura. Commentaire exégétique et critique précédé d'une introduction sur l'art de Lucrèce et d'une traduction des lettres et pensées d'Épicure. Tome premier, livres I. et II.* [Paris, 1925, 'Les Belles Lettres.' Pp. cxxiii+369] (Hosius). Introduction by E. Philosophical portion of commentary by R. adequate and lucid; greater part of commentary consists of E.'s very full notes on language, style, borrowings, etc.—*Pseudo-Plaute. Le prix des ânes (Asinaria). Texte établi et traduit par L. Havet et A. Freté* [Paris, 1925, 'Les Belles Lettres'] (Klotz). H.'s reasons for doubting genuineness of *Asinaria* are quite unconvincing. H.'s text is unsatisfactory and full of unnecessary conjectures, and his scansion is often at fault. A pity so much labour and penetration have been wasted.

- HISTORY.**—B. Lavagnini, *Saggio sullo svolgimento e le forme della storiografia greca* [Naples, 1925, F. Perrella. Pp. 62] (Ammon). Written in clear and lively style and apparently intended for a wide public. L. is familiar with the most recent literature on his subject.
- PHILOSOPHY.**—W. Andreae, *Platons Staatsschriften, griechisch und deutsch. Erster Teil: Briefe. Zweiter Teil: Staat. Erster Halbband: Vorwort, Text und Übersetzung. Zweiter Halbband: Einleitung, erläuternde Anmerkungen und Sach- und Namenverzeichnis* [Jena, 1925, G. Fischer. Pp. xxvii + 200; ix + 844; 224] (Nestle). Admirable piece of work.—W. Theiler, *Zur Geschichte der teleologischen Naturbetrachtung bis auf Aristoteles* [Zürich, 1925, O. Füssli. Pp. ix + 104] (Nestle). More than half of this meritorious work is concerned with Xenophon's *Memorabilia* I, 4 and IV, 3, the chief source of which Th. rightly discovers in pre-Socratic literature.
- RELIGION.**—Eva Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer, erläutert mit Berücksichtigung entsprechender Bräuche bei anderen Völkern* [Giessen, 1925, Töpelmann. Pp. 116] (Fehrle). Valuable and stimulating contribution to the history of religion and to ethnology.
- LEXICOGRAPHY.**—F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrus-Urkunden. 2. Lieferung (δικη-ἔχω) und 3. Lieferung (ἔχω-κωφός)* [Gröbzig, 1924 and 1925, G. Preisigke] (Bilabel). Compiled with same wide learning, wonderful precision and completeness as Part I.—*Vocabularium Codicis Justiniani* ed. R. Mayr. *Pars prior (pars Latina). Pars altera (pars Graeca)* ed. curis M. San Nicolò [Prague, 1923 and 1925. Pp. iv + 2572; 498] (Kübler). Accurate beyond all praise; an invaluable work.
- PAPYROLOGY.**—G. Ghedini, *Lettere cristiane dai papiri greci del III. e IV. secolo* [Milan, 1923, Univ. catt. S. Cuore] (Bilabel). Very exact and well read in papyrological and theological literature. Concludes with admirable grammatical observations and indices.
- SCIENCE.**—I. L. Heiberg, *Geschichte der Mathematik und Naturwissenschaften im Altertum* [München, 1925, Beck. Pp. 121] (Gohlke). Amazing industry and conscientiousness. Concentrates on the works of ancient scientists and history of their tradition. Very concise and not easy reading.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\*.\* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Bailey (C.)** Epicurus. The extant remains, with short critical apparatus, translation, and notes. Pp. 432. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Bailey (C.)** The Mind of Rome, Contributions by C. B., J. Bell, J. G. Barrington-Ward, T. F. Higham, A. N. Bryan-Brown, H. E. Butler, M. Platnauer, C. Singer. Pp. xii + 515; illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Bate (R. S.)** A Latin Grammar. Simple and complete, arranged with middle index. Pp. iii + 57. London: Librairie Hachette, 1926. Boards, 3s. net.
- Bell (H. I.)** Juden und Griechen im römischen Alexandria. Pp. 52. (Beihefte zum 'Alten Orient,' Heft 9.) Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1926. Paper, 2.40 M.
- Boissevain (U. P.)** Cassii Dionis Cocceiani Historiarum Romanarum quae supersunt. Vol. IV.: Index historicus. Pp. 706. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 42 M.
- Bücheler (F.), Riese (A.), Lommatzsch (E.)** Anthologia Latina II. 3. Carmina Latina Epigraphica: Supplementum. Pp. vi + 178. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 5 M.; bound, 6.20 M.
- Calhoun (G.)** The Business Life of Ancient Athens. Pp. x + 175. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. Cloth, 10s. net.
- Classical Philology.** Vol. XXI., No. 3. July, 1926.
- Cocchia (E.)** Studii critici di filologia classica e moderna. Volume primo. Pp. vii + 420. Naples: Rondinella e Loffredo, 1926. Paper, 27 lire.
- Colson (F. H.)** The Week. An essay on the origin and development of the seven-day cycle. Pp. viii + 126. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 5s. net.
- De Falco (V.)** Ioannes Peditasimus. In Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta. Edidit V. de F. Pp. xxii + 175. Naples: Sangiovanni, 1926. Paper, 30 lire.
- De Faye (E.)** Origen and his Work. Authorised translation by F. Rothwell. Pp. 192. London: Allen and Unwin, 1926. Cloth, 5s. net.
- Diehl (E.)** Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae Veteres. Vol. II., fasc. 4. Pp. 241-320. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 3.75 M.
- Dill (S.)** Roman Society in Gaul in the Merovingian Age. Pp. xiii + 566. London: Macmillan, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Durrbach (F.)** Inscriptions de Délos. Comptes des Hiéropes (Nos. 290-371). Pp. 192. (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Fonds d'Epigraphie Grecque.) Paris: Champion, 1926. Paper.
- Eos.** Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum. Vol. XXVIII., 1925.
- File (W.)** An Adventure in Moral Philosophy. Pp. x + 276. London: Methuen, 1926. Cloth, 10s. 6d. net.

- Fuchs (F.)** Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter. Pp. vii+79. (Byzantinisches Archiv, Heft 8.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 6 M.
- Fuchs (H.)** Augustin und der antike Friedensgedanke. Pp. 258. (Neue Philologische Untersuchungen, 3. Heft.) Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 14 M.
- Geffcken (J.)** Griechische Literaturgeschichte. Erster Band: Von den Anfängen bis auf die Sophistenzeit. Mit einem Sonderband: Anmerkungen. Pp. xii+328 and vii+317. Heidelberg: Winter, 1926. Paper, 30 M.; bound, 35 M.
- Grenier (A.)** The Roman Spirit in Religion, Thought, and Art. Pp. xvi+423; 16 illustrations in the text, 16 plates. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul, 1926. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Harding (T. W.)** Aids to the Study of Ancient History. Pp. 243. Cambridge: Bowes and Bowes, 1926. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Herzog (R.)** Die Mimiamben des Herondas. Deutsch mit Einleitung u. Anmerkungen. Zweite Auflage, gänzlich umgearbeitet u. mit gr. Text u. Abbildungen versehen. Pp. xvi+206. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1926. Paper.
- Hogarth (D. G.)** The Twilight of History, being the eighth Earl Grey Memorial Lecture. Pp. 19. London: Milford, 1926. Paper, 1s. net.
- Jachmann (G.)** Die Originalität der römischen Literatur. Pp. 43. Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Kartoniert, 2.60 M.
- Jardé (A.)** The Formation of the Greek People. Pp. xvi+359; 7 maps. (The History of Civilization.) London: Kegan Paul, 1926. Cloth, 16s. net.
- Kroll (W.)** Historia Alexandri Magni (Pseudo-Callisthenes). Vol. I.: Recensio vetusta. Edidit Gul. Kroll. Pp. xvi+166. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 9 M.
- Kromayer (J.) u. Veith (G.)** Antike Schlachtfelder. 4. Band, 2. Lieferung. Pp. 171-324. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 7.50 M.
- Laurence (C. E.)** Sophocles' Philoctetes. Abridged and edited with notes. Pp. 64. (Bell's Shorter Classics.) London: G. Bell, 1926. Cloth, 2s.
- Lindskog (C.) and Ziegler (K.)** Plutarchus: Vitae, III. 2. Pp. xvi+389. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 8.40 M.; bound, 10 M.
- McCormack (R.)** Seven in Scripture. The true text of St. John XVII. and other passages from the Gospels restored and established. Pp. 53. London and Edinburgh: Marshall Brothers, 1926. Boards.
- Mackenna (S.)** Plotinus: The Divine Mind, being the treatises of the Fifth Ennead translated from the Greek. Pp. 103. London: The Medici Society, 1926. Boards and canvas, 12s. 6d. net.
- Mattingly (H.) and Sydenham (E. A.)** The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. II.: Vespasian to Hadrian. With an introduction and 16 plates. Pp. xvii+568. London: Spink and Son, 1926. Paper, 26s. net.
- Mendell (C. W.)** Prometheus. I.: Prometheus Bound of Aeschylus. A metrical version. II.: Prometheus Unbound. Pp. 112. New Haven: Yale University Press (London: Milford), 1926. Cloth, 9s. net.
- Nock (A. D.)** Sallustius concerning the Gods and the Universe. Edited with prolegomena and translation. Pp. cxxiii+48. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 12s. 6d. net.
- Pallis (A.)** Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse. Pp. 56. Oxford: University Press. Paper, 3s.
- Pfuhl (E.)** Masterpieces of Greek Drawing and Painting. Translated by J. D. Beazley. Pp. viii+150; 160 illustrations. London: Chatto and Windus, 1926. Cloth, 30s. net.
- Pighi (G. B.)** Il proemio degli Annali di Q. Ennio. Pp. 52. Milan: Società Editrice 'Vita e Pensiero,' 1926. Paper, 4 lire.
- Plater (W. E.) and White (H. J.)** A Grammar of the Vulgate. Pp. viii+166. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 6s. net.
- Rabe (H.)** Aphthonius. Progymnasmata. Accedunt Anonymi Aegyptiaci, Sopatri, aliorum fragmenta. Pp. xxxii+79. (Bibl. Scr. Gr. et Rom. Teubn. Rhetores Graeci, Vol. X.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1926. Paper, 3.60 M.; bound, 4.60 M.
- Reed (M.)** Juliana. A Latin Exercise Book. Pp. xi+183. (Elementary Classics.) London: Macmillan, 1926. Cloth, 2s.
- Rose (H. J.)** Primitive Culture in Italy. Pp. ix+253. London: Methuen, 1926. Cloth, 7s. 6d. net.
- Rostovtzeff (M.)** A History of the Ancient World. Vol. I.: The Orient and Greece. Translated from the Russian by J. D. Duff. Pp. xxiii+418; 89 plates, 5 maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Shear (T. L.)** Sardis [Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis]. Vol. X.: Terra-cottas. Part I.: Architectural Terra-cottas. Pp. ix+44; 14 color plates, 22 figures. Cambridge: University Press, 1926. Cloth, 63s. net.
- Souter (A.)** Q. Septimi Florentis Tertulliani Apologeticus. Edited by A. S. Pp. 92. Aberdeen: University Press, 1926. Paper, 5s. net.
- Spaeth (J. W.)** A Study of the Causes of Rome's Wars from 343 to 265 B.C. Pp. 69. Princeton, 1926. Paper.
- Symbolae Osloenses.** Fasc. IV. Pp. 75. Oslo: Some, 1926. Paper.
- Thomson (J. A. K.)** Irony. An historical introduction. Pp. 242. London: Allen and Unwin, 1926. Cloth, 8s. 6d. net.
- Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (U.)** Reden und Vorträge. Vierte umgearbeitete Auflage. 2 vols. Pp. ix+398 and 274. Berlin: Weidmann, 1925-6. Cloth.
- Vorrenhagen (E.)** De orationibus quae sunt in Xenophontis Hellenicis. Pp. 145. Elberfeld: K. Rheinen, 1926. Paper.
- Weller (H.)** Venus et Mars. Carmen praemio aureo donatum in certamine poetico Hoeufftiano. Accedunt duo carmina laudata. Edidit Academia Regia Disciplinarum Nederlandica. Amsterdam, 1926. Paper.

# The Classical Review

DECEMBER, 1926

## NOTES AND NEWS

THE new President of the Classical Association has lost no time in providing its members with a tonic. In a letter to *The Times* of November 15—a letter which forms the topic of a weighty leading article in the same issue—Professor Conway took up the challenge of those who sang Jeremiads over Lord Hewart's 'noble utterance' at Manchester. 'Latin is in a decline'; 'Greek is on its deathbed.' From an analysis of the records of the two largest examining bodies in the country, the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board and the Joint Matriculation Board of the Northern Universities, Professor Conway concludes that both invalids are doing remarkably well.

'In 1918 the number of pupils who took Group I. (Greek, Latin, and ancient history) under the Oxford and Cambridge Board was 293; in 1926 it was 549—nearly double in eight years.

'In the parallel examination of the Joint Matriculation Board there were in 1918 only 29 candidates for Group I.; in 1926 there were 161—more than fivefold. Moreover, the figures just given show that this increase has not been obtained at the expense of the Oxford and Cambridge Board. Together we have 710 candidates in 1926, against 322 in 1918.

'Besides the candidates in Group I., others carry the study of Latin to a scholarly level in Group II., where Latin may be combined, not with Greek, but with two other literary or historical subjects. No such group existed before 1918; by 1926 the number who took Latin in this group had grown to 256 for the Oxford and Cambridge Board and 222 for the Joint Matriculation Board, together 478.

'For the Higher Certificate, candidates can also take Latin or Greek as a subsidiary subject, the requirements in which are equivalent to those of Matriculation. Of these, in 1926 there were 970 taking Latin and 16 taking Greek for the Joint Matriculation Board, whereas in 1918 there were only 58 in Latin and 1 in Greek. For the Oxford and Cambridge Board in 1926 there were 282 in Latin and 38 in Greek, against 47 and 9 respectively in 1918.

'The numbers for the ordinary School Certificate—that is, at the Matriculation level—are not less remarkable:

'For the Joint Matriculation Board the number taking Latin at this stage in 1918 was 623; in 1926 it was 5,765. For the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board the figures are 1,066 and 4,099 respectively. The candidates taking Greek for the Matriculation Board were 130 in

1918, but 288 in 1926; for the Oxford and Cambridge Board 665 and 1,173 respectively. This last figure is noteworthy, since it includes pupils from the public schools, where Greek is supposed to be vanishing. But the increase in Latin is even more remarkable. In the schools examined by the Matriculation Board it definitely means an enormous extension of the study—the number has been multiplied more than ninefold, and the increase is largely in schools where Latin has never been taught before. . . .

'It is both true and timely to say that, in the two largest systems taken together, where 1,127 boys and girls took Greek and 2,202 took Latin in 1918, the numbers in 1926 were 2,225 for Greek and 12,304 for Latin.

'Such figures betoken lively health and growth; and patetfamilias will give small heed to the mumbling physicians who read them as symptoms of decline.'

On November 20 *The Times* published a letter by the Master of Christ's which laid stress on a complementary aspect of the question. Dealing only with the Oxford and Cambridge figures, and applying a percentage analysis to the total number of candidates taking the examination in 1918 and in 1926, he shows that, while the numbers offering Latin and Greek have increased, the number of those who offer modern subjects has 'sky-rocketed.'

'When all the relevant figures for the Oxford and Cambridge Board are considered, the following conclusions seem reasonable:

'1. That in a country with an increased population (and an enormously increased secondary school population) there has been an increase in the actual number of candidates offering classics in school examinations.

'2. That of an increase of 1,500 in the numbers for the higher certificates, purely classical candidates number only 250.

'3. That in the school certificate the number offering Latin has increased in about the same proportion as has the total number of candidates, while in Greek it has declined from one-third to one-sixth.'

The ideal spectator of this friendly bout between two firm believers in the value of a classical education might be tempted to observe:

ἀναξ, σέ τ' εἰκός, εἴ τι καίριον λέγει,  
μαθεῖν, σέ τ' αὐ τοῦδ'· εὐ γὰρ εἴρηται  
διπλά.



The matter may or may not rest there in the field of controversy<sup>1</sup>; it cannot rest there on the field of action. The important point, as the writer of the leading article in *The Times* pointed out, is that every member of 'our enormously increased secondary school population' has as good a claim to a classical education, if he desires one, as his brother or sister has to a modern education. We should like to see an analysis of the figures which cuts more closely to the heart of the question than either Professor Conway or Dr. Shipley has done, and shows how many of the 'modern' candidates come from schools whose teaching staffs profess small Latin and less Greek, or, worse still, whose efficient classical teachers are not given fair play in the curriculum. To such schools, and to those responsible for them, the Classical Association might then direct its by no means contemptible attention. In the meantime we may derive solid comfort from the steady progress which Latin is making in the type of school which feeds the Northern Universities; nor need we blush to admit that many of the best Latinists who come from these schools acquire more than a nodding acquaintance with Greek before they graduate. Can it be that the Northern Universities are destined to succeed Oxford as the home of lost causes?

From Mr. W. W. Tarn:

It was reported in June that Sir Aurel Stein had discovered Aornos, the famous 'rock' which Alexander took during his campaign in Swat, once identified with Mahaban till Sir A. Stein, in 1908, ascended that mountain and held the identification disproved. Particulars of the new discovery have now been given in the *Times* of October 25 and 26. Aornos is identified with Pir-sar, a ridge averaging 7,200 feet high, 1½ miles long, its crest flat and cultivated, which stands much further north than Mahaban, overlooking the Ghorband Valley. Pir-sar at its northern end rises to a rocky cone 600 feet high,

identified with the actual 'rock'; a deep narrow gorge separates this end of Pir-sar from the loftier Una or Unra, 8,720 feet, whose name Sir A. Stein equates philologically with Aornos, and which he holds to be the hill Alexander climbed, the attack on the 'rock' being made across the gorge. The whole theory is most exciting and attractive; the difficulties which at first sight it suggests must obviously stand over till the discoverer has published his promised examination of Arrian's topographical details in the light of his large scale survey.

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"*Miserar' est neq' amoris dare ludum neque dulci Mala vino laver' aut ex—*." King likes "mala" translated as "chops," not "jaws." And 'chops' it was translated in form; wherewith Mr. King (a Balliol man) was well pleased. So runs, or rather so ran, a passage in a new chapter of *Stalky and Co.* which some of us read last Christmas in the *Strand*, and have read again lately in Mr. Kipling's last volume, *Debts and Credits*. The passage is shorter in the book than in the magazine; the new light upon Horace is a light that has failed.

Memory of another reinterpretation of Horace is revived in a recent work of Dean Inge's. *Crescentem sequitur cura pecuniam maiorumque fames*: 'Increase of money is followed by care, and by a hunger for ancestors.' A schoolboy error, thinks the Dean. But may not Horace have slyly half-meant it after all, with an eye on Agrippa perhaps?

But the schoolboy (unless the author himself is a claimant) may have the credit of the following tender version in Mr. Dougal Malcolm's *Nuces Relictae*: *Post equitem sedet atra cura*—'After riding, the Dark Lady sits down with care.'

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The Presidential Address delivered by Lord Hewart of Bury at the Manchester meeting of the Classical Association will be published before Christmas by the Manchester University Press.

<sup>1</sup> It has not. See Professor Conway in *The Times* of December 1.

## 'ODI ET AMO.'

Odi et amo. Quare id faciam fortasse requiris.

Nescio, sed fieri sentio et excrucior.—CATULLUS, LXXXV.

Ἐχθαίρω καὶ ἐρῶ. Τί παθὼν ; Τόδε καὶ μέλλῃθην  
Δύσμορον, ὧδε δ' ἔχων οἶδα καὶ ἐκτέταμαι.—E. H.

## XANTHOS-MELANTHOS AND THE ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY.

THE duel between Melanthos or Melanthios the Athenian, and Xanthos or Xanthios, the king of the Boeotians (*sic*), settled, we are told, in Athenian favour, a territorial dispute as to the possession of the country round Melainai or Oinoe. Such duels are not at all uncommon in Greek legendary history—*e.g.*, Pyraichmes against Degmenos, or Hyllos against Echmos. One story went that Melanthos called out to his opponent that he was unfairly bringing a second to the fray, thus induced him to look round, and seized the opportunity to smite him. It is the same kind of ruse as that by which Tom Sawyer escaped from justice by shouting 'Look behind you, Auntie,' as the rod was about to descend. There is no more to it than that if, as I believe, this incident, which I will label A, is the original story.

A very similar version was told of a similar duel for the possession of territory between Phemios and Hyperochos. 'Phemios, king of the Ainianes, seeing that Hyperochos, king of the Inachians, was coming at him with his dog, said that he did unfairly to bring a second into the fight. But when Hyperochos turned round to drive off the dog, Phemios cast at him with a stone and killed him' (Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 13). The ruse to us seems unsportsmanlike, to the ancient Greek it would appear perhaps primarily clever.

The ruse of Melanthos was given as an *aition* for the name of the festival Apatouria, which etymological speculation derived from the *ἀπάτη* of the Attic champion. Then the story was improved. Melanthos called out because he actually saw a phantom warrior armed with a goatskin behind Xanthos (B). This phantom warrior was identified with Dionysos Melanaigis of Eleutherai, and it was explained

that Melanthos won his victory after prayer to Dionysos Melanaigis before the battle (C), and that as a result of his success the cult of Dionysos Melanaigis was introduced at Athens (D). It will be noticed that these improved versions rob the derivation of Apatouria of any point, for if a phantom warrior was seen, the cry was no ruse on the part of Melanthos. But the *ἀπάτη* appears certainly in Ephoros, and probably in Hellanikos, our earliest dateable evidence. Dionysos Melanaigis appears in neither. This consideration, and the existence of the parallel version of the duel elsewhere in the simple form, suggest the probability that the simpler is the earlier version.

The proximity to Eleutherai, the name Oinoe and the name Melanthos may all have played a part in bringing Dionysos Melanaigis into the story. Further, this god apparently favoured manifestations as a phantom:—καὶ Μελαναίγιδα Διόνυσον ἰδρύσαντο ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. αἱ τοῦ Ἐλευθέρου θυγατέρες θεασάμεναι φάσμα τοῦ Διονύσου ἔχον μέλαιναν αἰγίδα ἐμέψαντο. ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς ἐξέμηκεν αὐτάς (Suidas, *s.v.* Μελαναίγιδα).

Let us now look at the literary evidence for the story. The following references are, I hope, exhaustive.<sup>1</sup> The incidents contained in the various versions are indicated by the letters which I have adopted as labels. Strabo IX. 1, 7, 393, and Pausanias IX. 5, 16 allude to the duel, but neither tells the story. Pausanias, indeed, makes the Athenian hero Andropompos, which may be simply due to a genealogical

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Mr. A. D. Nock, who most kindly supplied me with transcripts of those passages which were inaccessible in Liverpool.

inexactitude (see Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II., p. 129). John of Antioch, *F.H.G.* (Müller) IV., p. 439, also makes Andropompos the Athenian protagonist. But that he had some other source in addition to Pausanias is shown by his connexion of the duel with the name Apatouria, which Pausanias does not mention.

If, as is generally, and I think rightly, supposed, the whole passage in Schol. Plato *Symp.* 208 = Jacoby, *Fr. Hist. Gr.*, 4F. 125, is from Hellanikos, this author did not know of the intervention of Dionysos Melanaigis, which is absent also from the version cited from Ephoros, Book II. (Harpokration s.v. 'Απατούρια, Apostol. III. 31 = *F.H.G.* (Müller) I., p. 239, *Frag.* 25). In the same category fall the versions in *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Κουπέωρις*, p. 532; Schol. Plato *Timaeus* 21; Polyaeus I. 10; Frontinus II. 5, 41. A number of the authorities, therefore, including the earliest, present a version in which Dionysos does not figure at all.

Coming to the other records, of the two versions in Bekker, *Anecdota* I., pp. 416, 417, the first contains A + C (Melanthos prayed to Zeus Apatenorios, ὡς δέ τινες Διόνυσῳ), the second has A + B + D. Schol. Aristoph. *Peace* 890 gives A, then as an afterthought τινὲς δέ φασι τὸν Διόνυσον παραστῆναι τῷ Ξάνθῳ κ.τ.λ. Again the form implies a secondary version. Suidas s.v. 'Απατούρια has A + B + D; Schol. Aristoph. *Acharnians* 146, A + B + D; Konon, 39 = Jacoby, *Fr. Hist. Gr.* 26, Konon, XXXIX., A + B + D; Apostol. III. 31, A + B + D; *Et. Mag.*, p. 119, s.v. 'Απατούρια, A + B + C + D; Schol. Aristid. *Panath.* (Dindorf, III., p. 111), 112, 6, A + B. In the last two variants the *deus ex machina* is Dionysos, not Dionysos Melanaigis.

Lastly the reference in Nonnus XXVII. 301 shows that the poet of Panopolis, whose date can hardly be earlier than the fourth century after Christ, knew and accepted the version in which Dionysos Melanaigis figures.

This survey surely tends to confirm the probability of the view that A is the original story into which Dionysos Melanaigis has subsequently been interpolated. There is some reason to think

that as a local legend about the Attic frontier A itself may not be very old. 'Ein Grenzstreit um Oinoe ist erst nach 508 denkbar,' Wilamowitz, *Hermes* XXI., p. 112. Melanthos himself is an intrusive figure in the list of the early kings of Athens, though he is established there by the time of Herodotus, V. 65. I am inclined to think myself that here, as in so many cases, the Athenian royal genealogy has been swollen by the addition of a local deme hero, and that Melanthos was the eponym of Melainai. There were sound grounds for turning him into a Neleid however, for Melanthos appears to be a genuine Messenian legendary name (Strabo VIII. 4, 1, 359). But whatever may be the truth about this, the argument that his alleged Neleid origin is connected with the propagation of Dionysiac cult by the Minyans involves so many purely conjectural hypotheses as to lack any evidential weight.

This rather tedious analysis of an unimportant legend is justified because the story has been interpreted as an hieratic legend, an aetiological myth of the plot of a seasonal mumming play in which Fair Man (Spring, the New Year, etc.) fights with Black Man (Winter, the Old Year, etc.). This theory was first put forward by Usener, *Archiv für Rel. Wiss.*, 1904, pp. 303-313, and has been approved and developed by Dr. Farnell, *Cults* V., pp. 234 ff. Usener's discussion of τὰ Ξανδικά in Macedon need not here detain us, for whether he is right or wrong about that does not really touch the issue before us. Dr. Farnell's case is this. Melanthos against Xanthos is a secular version of an hieratic story of a Dionysiac character. To the *aition* of the mumming play local secular associations became subsequently attached. The name Melanthos is Minyan, and the Minyans propagated the cult of Dionysos. A mumming play in which someone is killed and presumably mourned has an essential connexion with Dionysos. From these suggestive facts the origin of Attic tragedy, in the way of that elusive will-o'-the-wisp, leaps to the eye! It is a pretty and a plausible tale, but I fear it is a fairy tale which hardly bears close scrutiny. If I am right in

my analysis of the forms of the story, Dr. Farnell has inverted its probable history. So far from being essential the connexion with Dionysos is secondary, and in fact *spoils the story* of the *ἀπάτη*. But much of the plausibility of the hypothesis disappears with Dionysos.

There is another rather serious difficulty which has hardly been fairly faced. In our story Black Man kills Fair Man. But it is St. George, not the Turkish knight, who is the final victor in the mumming play. Our *dénouement* is agreeable neither to rule nor indeed to the magical purpose of such mimetic

seasonal ceremonial. The supposition that a winter play in which Xanthos was slain by Melanthos was followed by a spring play in which the rôles were reversed (Farnell, *op. cit.*, p. 230) lacks any corroboration. There is no evidence whatsoever that there was any sequel to the tale of Xanthos and Melanthos; Dionysos I believe to have nothing to do with it in its earliest form; this appears to be simply a secular legend of a quite common general type of which a specific parallel example is the story of Phemios and Hyperochos.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

### FAMILY COATS-OF-ARMS<sup>1</sup> IN GREECE?

IN his interesting book *Athens*<sup>2</sup> Mr. Seltman supposes a general use of family badges in Greece. For instance, he writes: 'The love of heraldry was strong in the sixth century' (p. 19). He supports this supposition by saying: 'The maintenance of a clan or family coat-of-arms is vouched for by other Greek monuments and especially by the Heracleian Tables' (p. 24, n. 2).

I do not think this is true. The Heracleian Tables<sup>3</sup> have Dorian inscriptions, of the third century B.C., which treat of affairs of the Spartan Heraclea. Brandis<sup>4</sup> declares: 'Ein anderes directes Zeugniß ist bisher für die Existenz von Familienwappen in der griechischen Welt nicht beigebracht worden' (p. 46). But who will assert that a single piece of evidence for a Spartan use in the third century B.C. may prove something for the whole Greek world or for Athens in the sixth century?

Moreover, here we have no evidence at all. The problem is as follows: Nearly all the proper names in these inscriptions are determined not only by the father's name, but, for instance, thus:

$\bar{\alpha}$	ἔμβολος	Ἡρακλείδης	Τιμοκράτιος.
$\overline{\text{Fe}}$	γυῖον	Πεισίας	Λεοντίσκω.
$\kappa\nu$	θρίναξ	Φιλώτας	Ἰστιάω.

What is the meaning of the 'notae'  $\bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\overline{\text{Fe}}$ ,  $\kappa\nu$ , etc.? and what of the 'imagines' ἔμβολος, γυῖον, θρίναξ, etc.? Boeckh-Franz (*C.I.G.*, l.c.) and Kaibel (*I.G.*, l.c.) take the 'notae' for distinctive marks of *φρατρίαι* or *ὠβαί*. There are more 'imagines' than 'notae,' and one 'nota' contains several 'imagines.' For instance:

$\bar{\alpha}$	$\overline{\text{Fe}}$	$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$	$\overline{\kappa\nu}$
ἀνθεμα	γυῖον	κιβώτιον	θρίναξ
ἔμβολος	τρίπους	ἐπιστύλιον	σφαιρωτήρες
	ἀνθεμον		

Boeckh-Franz conclude: 'Apparet symbola illa non ad gentem designandam addita esse, addita igitur videntur ad familias distinguendas'; and Brandis: 'Sie charakterisiren sich hier als Familienwappen, indem sie mit der Geschlechts- oder Stammesbezeichnung bleiben und wechseln' (p. 46). We find indeed,

$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$	κιβώτιον	Βορμίων	Φιλώτα,
$\overline{\mu\epsilon}$	κιβώτιον	Ἀρκάς	Φιλώτα,

perhaps two brothers belonging to the same *ὠβή* and with the same coat-of-arms; but Brandis forgot that we find also,

$\bar{\alpha}$	ἀνθεμα	Φιλώνυμος	Φιλωνύμω,
$\bar{\alpha}$	ἔμβολος	Δάμαρχος	Φιλωνύμω,

again perhaps two brothers belonging to the same *ὠβή*, but with different coats-of-arms. And Kaibel observes: 'Non domorum, sed gentium singularum singula insignia esse haec exempla docent: idem insigne (γυῖον) habent Aristodamus Symmachi f. et Pisiae Leontisci

<sup>1</sup> I mean badges which have represented the same family for some generations.

<sup>2</sup> *Athens: Its History and Coinage before the Persian invasion*, Cambridge, 1924.

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.G.* III., p. 693 ff. = *I.G.* XIV., p. 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Z. für Num.*, 1874, pp. 43-68, 'Beiträge zur griechischen Wappenkunde.'

f., itemque idem (ἔμβολον) habent Damarchus Philonymi f. et Heraclidas Timocratis f.' With Kaibel I do not think we can make use of these inscriptions as a proof of the general use of family badges. That Kaibel takes these coats-of-arms to be badges of *gentes* is nothing but a supposition. It cannot be proved that badges of *gentes* were in use; at most they may be called *personal* badges.

Mr. Seltman also refers to 'other Greek monuments,' but I cannot discover them. Brandis is convinced by the Heracleian Tables, and so invents other family coats-of-arms, merely relying upon names and without any certainty. For instance, a certain Demetrios is said to bear as badge 'a man's head'; Brandis is also of opinion that it is another Demetrios who has for a badge 'a diota.' A certain Polyktor, son of Demetrios, is said to bear 'a man's head' too. Brandis concludes (pp. 53 f.) that this Polyktor is the son of the Demetrios with the 'man's head,' but not of him with the 'diota' ('quod probandum'), and thus we should have a new indication for the use of family badges.

He sees another indication in the law of Solon: δακτυλογλύφῳ μὴ ἐξείναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν τοῦ παρθέντος δακτυλίου (Diog. Laert. I. 57); but this law was enacted only, as Bonner says, 'to prevent duplication of signet-rings.'<sup>1</sup>

Neither Seltman nor Brandis mentions Bernd's book<sup>2</sup> on this matter, but with reason, for all the family coats-of-arms there enumerated *passim* may be rejected because there are no badge-bearing relations to be found. He mentions Alkmaion, who σημεῖον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἔσφζε τέχνης (Schol. ad Pind., *Pyth.* VIII. 45), and Parthenopaios, ἐπίσημ' ἔχων οἰκεῖον ἐν μέσῳ σάκει (Eur. *Phoen.* 1107)—namely, the image of his mother Atalanta; but they have only 'gentile devices' in Mr. Chase's sense, i.e. 'devices chosen with reference to

the family of the bearer';<sup>3</sup> and Aischylos and Euripides in the distribution of devices are at one only so far as they give no device at all to Alkmaion's father Amphiaraios. Hippomedon (Bernd, p. 33) has also an οἰκεῖον σημεῖον, as the scholion on Eur. *Phoen.* 1114 observes, but merely to indicate his native country. We might call them 'badges of origin'<sup>4</sup> ('Herkunftswappen'). 'The remains of the temple of Apollo at Amyclae'<sup>5</sup> show no more than symbols in general use in the Peloponnese, the club of Herakles, the serpent and the fox,<sup>6</sup> perhaps 'tribe-badges'; and the likeness of Polyneikes' and Eteokles' devices on a vase<sup>7</sup> serves to render more conspicuous their κοινωμία, for they have the same helmets, armour, swords, even the same falling position.

All the specimens of family coats-of-arms hitherto brought up for discussion may be rejected. I do not think there are texts<sup>8</sup> or monuments which prove the use of family badges in Greece. I daresay a man inherits his father's shield. A Spartan woman said to her son: 'Your father always saved this shield; you save it too, or die.'<sup>9</sup> But that 'normally a man would inherit his father's badge,' as Seltman says (p. 24), and would always bear this badge, I cannot grant. This appears nowhere; it is not even proved yet that the Athenians appeared always<sup>10</sup> with the same shields and devices. Indeed, in this respect we still find great freedom, and there are texts which do suppose and support this. Homer relates the exchange of weapons (H 303). Pan-

<sup>3</sup> Chase, *Harvard Studies* XIII., 1902, 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks,' p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Idomeneus has also a coat-of-arms of origin, Paus. V. 25. 9: οὐκ δὲ ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν ἐστὶν ἐπίθημα τῇ ἀσπίδι, Ἰδομενεὺς ἐστὶν, ὁ ἀπόγονος Μίνω· τῷ δὲ Ἰδομενεὶ γένος ἀπὸ Ἥλιου τοῦ πατρὸς Πασιφάης, Ἥλιου δὲ ἱερὸν φασὶν εἶναι τὸν ὄρνιθα καὶ ἀγγέλλειν ἀνίεναί μελλοντος τοῦ ἡλίου. Cf. Seltman, p. xviii, n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Bernd, pp. 45 ff.; *C.I.G.* I., n. 57, 58, 59: 'Inscriptiones Fourmonti spuriae.'

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Apollodoros II. 8. 4/5 (Frazer I., p. 288).

<sup>7</sup> Bernd, p. 26; Inghirami, *Monum. Etrusc.*, T. I, parte 2, tav. 93; cf. Robert, *Oidipous* II., p. 156, Anm. 102.

<sup>8</sup> If the scholion on Arist. *Lys.* 665 is right, we have there to do with a party badge.

<sup>9</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 241F (Bernardakis II., p. 196).

<sup>10</sup> Thuc. VI. 58: μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Bonner, *Class. Philol.* III., pp. 399-407, 'The Use and Effect of Attic Seals,' p. 400. In this article Bonner does not discuss family badges. Does he not know them?

<sup>2</sup> *Die Hauptstücke der Waffenwissenschaft* I., 'Das Wappenwesen der Griechen und Römer,' 1841.

daros recognised Diomedes by his shield (E 182), but in Z 330 Diomedes gives all his weapons to Glaukos. Aischylos and Euripides give their heroes in front of Thebes different devices, and devices made for this occasion, whilst the messenger ends with these words: *τοιαῦτ' ἐκείνων ἐστὶ τὰ ξευρήματα* (Aesch. *Sept. c. Theb.* 649). The devices of these heroes are of their own inventing. Would they have handled these devices so arbitrarily if family badges were in general use or if they constituted a system? And how often might they have mentioned hereditary coats-of-arms in their tragedies!

Plutarch (*Alcib.* 16) tells us, amongst other extravagances of Alkibiades, that he had a golden shield, bearing *οὐδὲν ἐπίσημον τῶν πατρίων*, but an Eros. If Plutarch is right, this is a 'classic instance' of the fact that 'sometimes a mere personal caprice governed the selection of a coat-of-arms,' as Mr. Seltman observes (p. 24), but also of the fact that in the family of Alkibiades several badges were in use.

On rings and gems family badges are not mentioned for aught I know. This need not surprise us. The seal was not yet a pure formality. 'The purpose and effect of seals affixed by testators, heirs, executors, witnesses, contracting parties, and sureties was primarily to safeguard the documents, and to insure the performance of the bequests and provisions.' 'Careful householders sealed

their larders against pilfering slaves, and even against the women of their families' (Bonner, *l.c.*) Therefore it is not probable that father, sons, and grandsons had altogether the same stamp.

I conclude: the doubts of the general use of hereditary badges in Greece (*i.e.* against Greek heraldry) uttered by E. S. G. Robinson<sup>1</sup> are to be confirmed. I am surprised that Kurt Regling wrote in his criticism of Seltman's book: 'Der Erklärung dieser Bilder als der Wappen der grossen athenischen Familien kann ich nur zustimmen.'<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Seltman may mean other monuments than those I have treated of; perhaps he will be so kind as to indicate them.

H. J. H. VAN BUCHEM.

*Additum.*—Professor Kurt Regling is so kind as to remind me of the coats-of-arms of the Seleukidai, the Ptolemies, and the Pontic dynasty. But I have not treated of these badges because Syria, Egypt, and Pontos are not Greece. If these badges are indeed family coats-of-arms, they cannot prove anything for Greece as I use that name. I hope to treat of these badges in a subsequent article.

<sup>1</sup> *Class. Rev.*, 1925, p. 124: 'There is, however, little evidence for the general use of hereditary, as opposed to personal, badges.' Cf. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1924, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> *Philol. Wochenschrift*, 1925, p. 219.

## ARISTOPHANES, *ACHARNIANS* 399 f.

*αὐτὸς δ' ἐνδον ἀναβάδην ποιεῖ τραγωδίαν.*

IN this passage we find Euripides sitting upstairs and composing poetry. I do not feel much doubt that 'upstairs' is the meaning of *ἀναβάδην* (rather than 'lying up' on a couch), following the scholiast in part: *ἄνω τοὺς πόδας ἔχων ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τόπου καθήμενος*. The words *ἄνω τοὺς πόδας ἔχων* are at the most ambiguous, but the meaning of the remainder is beyond dispute. The context surely supports this view (1) when Euripides says he has no time to come down, and (2) when Dicaeopolis says: 'Upstairs? Why, that accounts for your lame heroes' (they have fallen

downstairs so often). I am not now concerned to maintain this interpretation against all comers, because, even if the meaning is nothing more than *having the feet up* (with his feet on the mantel-shelf), it is still relevant to the chain of ideas to which I desire to call attention. Why, then, did Euripides choose to occupy the first floor front? The answer is that so he was most accessible to the inspiration which, as a poet, he drew from the upper air. On Soph. fr. 941 I pointed out that the figure of *wings* was applied to various emotional transports, and in particular to the inspiration of poetry, which exalts

alike the singer and his theme.<sup>1</sup> Thus Theogn. 237 ff. σοὶ μὲν ἐγὼ πτέρ' ἔδωκα, σὺν οἷς ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πόντον πωτήσῃ καὶ γῆν πᾶσαν ἀειρόμενος ῥηιδίως answers exactly to Pind. *Isth.* 1. 64 εἴη μὲν εὐφώνων πτερύγεσσιν ἀερθέντ' ἀγλααῖς Πιερίδων κ.τ.λ. *Nem.* 8. 40 αὖξεται δ' ἀρετὰ . . . ἐν σοφοῖς ἀνδρῶν (i.e., poets) ἀερθεῖσ' ἐν δικαίοις τε (as contrasted with φθονεροί, *Pyth.* 2. 90) πρὸς ὑγρὸν αἰθέρα. In *Pyth.* 5. 114 Arcesilas is ἐν Μοῖσαισι ποτανός, where the schol. comments ἐνδοξος ἦν καὶ πτηνὸς τουτέστι τῇ δόξῃ μετεωριζόμενος (the passage is often misunderstood). *Pyth.* 8. 34: the debt which victory imposes upon the poet becomes ἐμᾶ ποτανὸν ἀμφὶ μαχανᾶ, soaring aloft by virtue of my art. *Nem.* 7. 22 ποταναῖ μαχανᾶ: the soaring majesty of Homer's verse uplifts Odysseus. *Pyth.* 8. 89 μεγάλας ἐξ ἐλπίδος πέτεται ὑποπτέροις ἀνορέαις (how much Pindar needs an interpreter is shown by Donaldson finding here an allusion to the cock-pit). Victory in the games exalts a man because thereby he becomes fit for the support of the Muse's wings. In *Isth.* 3. 27 the testimony which poets yield to renown is said to be wafted over the world (ὅσσα δ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἀηται μαρτύρια δόξας).

<sup>1</sup> I should like to quote a remarkable illustration of the extended usage from *Il.* 19. 386 (Achilles trying on the armour made by Hephaestus to see if it will fit): τῷ δ' εὐτε πτερὰ γίγνεται, ἔπειτα δὲ ποιμένα λαών. The moderns shirk an explanation, beyond noting that Xenophon echoes Homer in *Cyrop.* 2. 3. 14: τὸ τῶν ὄπλων φόρημα πτεροῖς μᾶλλον εἰκέναι ἢ φορτίῳ. But Porphyrius' note shows that the ancients were aware of something strange which required elucidation. It is, perhaps, enough to quote his opening words: τινὲς φασιν ὅτι ἐμετεώριζεν αὐτὸν ὁ κόσμος καὶ γαυριᾶν ἐποίει. Homer seems to say that the adjustment of his new equipment was so perfect that it filled him with the joy of battle.

The notion is so deeply engrained in Pindar that exaltation is ascribed even to the garlands which were the national emblem of his heroes' victories (*Ol.* 9. 20, 14. 25; *Pyth.* 9. 125). The effective instruments of the Muses are τὰ μουσικὰ πτερὰ (*Ar. Av.* 1332). These are the wings of which Cinesias in the *Aves* seeks to obtain from Peithetaerus a fresh supply for use in his profession. His first words borrowed from Anacreon declare his poetic aptitude: ἀναπέτομαι δὴ πρὸς Ὀλύμπου πτερύγεσσι κούφαις πέτομαι δ' ὁδὸν ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλαν μελέων (1372-4). By flying aloft he is enabled to reach the aerial storehouse of his melodies: ὑπὸ σοῦ πτερωθεὶς βούλομαι μετάρσιος ἀναπτόμενος ἐκ τῶν νεφελῶν καινὰς λαβεῖν ἡροδονήτους καὶ νιφοβόλους ἀναβολὰς (I wish you to give me wings that I may fly on high and draw forth preludes from the clouds with airy quavers and scattered snow). Cf. Philostr. *vit. Ar.* 1. 7, 7 ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πυθαγόρου βίον, πτερωθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τινος κρείττονος. When Trygaeus ascended to Olympus he met traversing the air ψυχὰς δὴ τρεῖς διθυραμβοδιδασκάλων engaged in finding appropriate preludes described as ἐνδιαεριαυρινηχέτους τινάς (*Ar. Pac.* 829 ff.). Now we are able to appreciate Plato's definition, how that the poets gather their melodies from fountains flowing with honey in gardens and glades of the Muses, and bring them to us like bees and themselves flying too. Κούφον γὰρ χρῆμα ποιητῆς ἐστὶν καὶ πτηνὸν καὶ ἱερὸν κ.τ.λ. (*Ion* 534b). I hope, at any rate, that we shall hesitate to follow Blaydes, who (after Hermann) concludes from the passage of the *Acharnians*: *notatur autem hic supina negligentia Euripidis in tragicodiis conscribendis.* A. C. PEARSON.

### THE END OF THE RHESUS.

At the end of the *Rhesus* the hero's fate is thus described (970-3):

κρυπτός δ' ἐν ἄντροις τῆς ὑπαργύρου χθονὸς  
ἀνθρωποδαίμων κείσεται βλέπων φίλος  
Βάκχου προφήτης ὥστε Παγγαίου πέτραν  
ἔκρησε, σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός.

Rhesus will not be one of the dead, though he may never more see his

mother; he will have a kind of divinity comparable with that of a prophet of Bacchus dwelling in a cave of Pangaion. Who is this prophet?

The most recent suggestion, put forward by Sir William Ridgeway, is that he is Dionysus.<sup>1</sup> I must beg leave

<sup>1</sup> *C.Q.* XX. 17 ff.

to dissent, with the more regret since it is to Sir William's stimulating paper that I owe my interest in the problem; nevertheless, it is hard to find support for his view that 'an examination of the facts points to Dionysus as not being identical with Bacchus, but rather that he was an old Thracian chief of the Pangaeian region who was regarded by the natives as a reincarnation of Bacchus.' Διώνυσος is the god's oldest name; Herodotus VII. 111 does not, as Sir William says, state that Dionysus was buried on the Pangaeian peak; the invocation ἐλθεῖν ἤρω Διόνυσσε at Elis does not prove that his status was other than divine, being probably to be explained as a survival of the old vague use of *heros* as a courtesy-title;<sup>1</sup> his *eschara* at Athens is quite consistent with Olympian rank;<sup>2</sup> and his epithet Βακχέϊος cannot denote a reincarnation of Bacchus.<sup>3</sup> Διώνυσος and Βάκχος denote the same person in historical times.

Rejecting this proposal, we must reject also the older theories that the prophet of Bacchus was Lycurgus (there is no evidence for his being early regarded as in this relationship to Bacchus, and there is no little probability against),<sup>4</sup> or Orpheus, who was not σεμνὸς τοῖσιν εἰδόσιν θεός, certainly not consciously regarded as such.<sup>5</sup> Further north we do find a figure who answers our requirements, a prophet, who dwelt underground for three years,<sup>6</sup>

whom some indeed thought in origin a man, but his worshippers venerated as a god, Zalmoxis or Zamolxis, also named Gebeleizis. He belongs to the land of the Getae, whom the Greeks did not distinguish from Thracians, a view in which a modern authority agrees.<sup>7</sup> So much we learn from Herodotus IV. 94-6. Strabo VII. 3. 5, p. 297, adds that something similar continued down to his own time, 'there being always found someone like Zalmoxis in disposition who was adviser to the king and was called a god among the Getae.'<sup>8</sup> Elsewhere (XVI. 2. 39, p. 762) he classes Zalmoxis, ὁ παρὰ τοῖς Γέταις θεός, and Decaeneus, his contemporary representative, with a number of prophets who received kingly honours. Again, Hellanicus stated that Zalmoxis 'taught initiatory rites to the Getae in Thrace and told him that neither he nor his followers would die, but they would have all good things.'<sup>9</sup> This statement, coupled with a remark of Strabo's that Zalmoxis first became priest of the god most worshipped in those parts, brings him very near to being Βάκχου προφήτης.

It would then be possible to suggest that the author of the *Rhesus* was imperfectly acquainted with Thracian geography, and localised Zalmoxis further south than the facts warranted. The supposition is, however, unnecessary. A country which could produce a Zalmoxis and his successors in one part,

<sup>1</sup> We may note Pausan. VI. 26. 1, θεῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Διόνυσον σέβουσιν Ἡλείοι.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. A. S. F. Gow, *J.H.S.* XXXII. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The termination -είος is vague. Explanations which have been offered are 'god of the Βάκχοι and Βάκχαι (Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I. 4 665), 'god invoked with the cry ἰὼ Βάκχε' (O. Jessen, *P.W.* II. 2789, 4), 'god of Bacchic frenzy' (Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, 301), and 'god who is himself a Bacchant' (Perdrizet, *Cultes et Mythes du Panée*, 53, cf. Dionysos μύστης). In any case Βάκχος, Βακχέϊος, Βακχεύς, and the like are titles given to Dionysus *qua* god of orgiastic rites.

<sup>4</sup> Strabo X. 3. 16, p. 471, τὸν Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡδωνὸν Λυκούργου συνάγοντες εἰς ἐν τὴν ὁμοιοτροπίαν τῶν ἱερῶν αἰνέονται looks like Hellenistic theological speculation.

<sup>5</sup> He is ἐνθεός (Kern, *Orphica*, 119, No. 49, I. 3), not θεός. The view that he was originally 'the dark god' remains a pure conjecture.

<sup>6</sup> W. Aly, *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot.* 130, regards τὸ κατάγειον οἶκημα as Greek rationalisation of the common motif of

the temporary disappearance of a wonder-worker. Strabo, however, speaks of him as dwelling in a cave (p. 298), and it was, no doubt, the common Greek idea about him.

<sup>7</sup> J. Weiss, *P.W.* VII. 1330. The difference of customs which Herodotus mentions (V. 3) refers, as he states in ch. 4, to Getic ἀναθνατισμός; he draws no distinction between their religious beliefs in general and those of the Thracians. In IV. 94-6 he repeatedly speaks of Zalmoxis as being among Thracians.

<sup>8</sup> The story Strabo tells of the way in which the king of the Getae found his authority confirmed by the belief that he acted on divine monitions received by Zalmoxis looks like Greek theorising, similar to the view of Critias (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, II. 4 320 f., 81 B 25) that belief in the gods was invented to supply a sanction for law.

<sup>9</sup> F. Jacoby, *Fragmente d. griech. Hist.* I. 1, 125, n. 73. Müller, *Fragm. hist. graec.* I. 69 n. 173 (Müller regarded this as pseudo-Hellanicus).



a prophet (not indeed divine) like Orpheus in another, and which contained a variety of oracular shrines of Bacchus, may well have had other divine *prophetai* of whom no record survives.

Moreover, there was in all probability an oracle of Bacchus on Mount Pangaion. Herodotus speaks of an oracle on the loftiest mountains in the land of the Satrae, whom he mentions as the chief exploiters of the Pangaeian gold and silver mines, and it has generally been held that the site implied must have been on Pangaion.<sup>1</sup> For this oracle the prophet was supplied by the Bessi,<sup>2</sup> though the actual mouthpiece of the god was an inspired woman; 'just as at Delphi, and there is nothing more peculiar,' adds Herodotus, who had perhaps encountered exaggerated rumours as to its sanctity. Is not the man-god mentioned in *Rhes.* 972 as *Βάκχου*

*προφήτης* the supposed divine prototype of the actual and present *prophetes*? In the cases of Zalmoxis and his successors we see both the prophet's prototype and the individual prophet, and the prototype might fairly be called a man-god; on Pangaion we see the prophet, but apart from this passage we do not know his prototype. It is perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that the phrase in the *Rhesus*, supported by the analogy of Zalmoxis, proves certainly that Greeks supposed that belief in him existed (helped perhaps by the analogy of Trophonius), possibly also that that belief did exist. Athenian relations with the Strymon valley go back to the time of Pisistratus;<sup>3</sup> many citizens must have visited that region on public or private business, and when a Greek moved in a strange land he took note of its gods.

Finally, the vague name 'prophet of Bacchus' may well be the name under which this divine personage was venerated, certainly that whereby he was described. The nameless figure in his sacred cave gives a good parallel to the dim but honoured immortality which is the due of Rhesus.

A. D. Nock.

<sup>1</sup> VII. 111: The localisation is made by Hiller von Gärtringen, *De graecorum fabulis ad Thraces pertinentibus*, 81, E. Maass, Perdrizet, and Ridgeway. This shrine must be distinguished from that in Crestonia, which lay more to the West.

<sup>2</sup> *Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρῶν εἰσι οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. The analogies of Delphi, the Ptoion, Didyma, and the oracle of Apollon Koropaios at Demetrias would support the view that one prophet is implied; but Apollo had *prophetai* at Argos (*B.C.H.* XXVII. 274) and *ὁ προφήτης* may always mean 'the prophet on duty' (P. Monceaux, *Dar.-Sagl.* IV. 218).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. C. T. Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, 54 ff. The writer is indebted to Professor H. J. Rose for valuable criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

## THE DATE OF THE SECOND PLATONIC EPISTLE.

MR. L. A. POST, in his translation of the *Thirteen Epistles of Plato* (Clarendon Press, 1925), has no doubt been wise in passing lightly over controversial questions. But in his historical introduction to the 2nd Epistle, which rests on the view that the letter was written in 363 B.C., some mention should surely have been made of the fact that those who accept the letter as genuine are not agreed with regard to its date. Mr. Post starts with the statement that Plutarch explains the circumstances in which the letter was written. But Plutarch, who alludes to some of the letters, has no mention of, or allusion to, the 2nd; and his account of the years 366-360 B.C. does not help us to fix its date.

The contents of the letter, if we accept it as genuine (and I agree with Mr. Post in adopting this view), show that it was written not long after a celebration of the Olympic Games at which both Plato and Dion were present. Mr. Post follows Räder and Apelt in the view that the reference is to the Games of 364 B.C. The two historians who accept the letter as genuine—Grote and E. Meyer—hold that the Games referred to are those of 360 B.C., at which both Plato and Dion are known to have been present. C. Ritter (*Neue Untersuchungen*, p. 370) regards the disagreement about the date of the letter as a strong argument against its genuineness. It is, in fact, possible to make out a plausible

case against either date. But if we accept both the 2nd and the 7th Epistles as genuine documents, the difficulties in the way of assigning the 2nd to the interval between Plato's second visit to Syracuse in 367/6 and his third visit in 361/0 really are insuperable.

Let us consider first the difficulties which confront us if we suppose that the letter refers to the Games of 360 B.C. Plato returned from his third visit to Sicily in that year. In the course of his journey to Athens he visited the Olympic Games, and there met Dion. His description of what occurred is given in the 7th Epistle (350b-d). Dion, after hearing his story, announced his intention of taking action against Dionysius, and called on Plato and his friends to assist him. Plato replied that Dion might invite his friends to help him if he wished, but that his own position in any hostilities between Dion and Dionysius would be that of a neutral. His obligations to Dionysius made it impossible for him to join in an attack on the tyrant; he would remain the common friend of both parties, and reconcile them if an opportunity offered.

Is this inconsistent with what Plato says in the 2nd Epistle about the Games at which he had recently been present? That letter is a reply to messages from Dionysius conveyed personally by the Pythagorean Archedemus. The first of these was a request that Plato would prevent his associates (excluding Dion) from speech and action adverse to Dionysius. This request was made because the monarch had been informed that Plato's associates had been speaking evil of him at the Games. Plato replies that he himself had heard nothing of the sort, and that the informants of Dionysius must have better ears than he has. Could Plato have said this truthfully after the Games of 360 B.C.? Dion, no doubt, had on that occasion spoken against Dionysius, but he was expressly excluded by the terms of the message; and we have no information as to what was said by Plato's other friends. It is not impossible that Plato was able quite truthfully to contradict the statement that a large number of his associates had been speaking evil of Dionysius.

Plato may, of course, have attended the Games of 364 B.C.; and the fact that his visit on that occasion is not mentioned would be no obstacle to our assigning the letter to that date if its other contents harmonised with it. But on the question of date, as on the question of genuineness, the philosophical contents of the letter are the most important part of the evidence which has to be considered. In the 2nd Letter we are told (313a, b) of an interview between Plato and Dionysius 'in the garden under the laurels,' in which deep philosophical questions were dealt with; and Dionysius professed to have already arrived at his own solution of the problems which were being discussed. Can such an interview have taken place during the earlier of Plato's two visits to Dionysius?

In the 7th Letter the philosophical relations between Plato and Dionysius are fully dealt with. Speaking of the latter part of his first visit to the tyrant, Plato states that Dionysius refused to receive any instruction in philosophy from him (330a, b). Again, when speaking of the state of Dionysius' knowledge during the interval between his two visits (338d, e), he says that Dionysius had received no instruction from him during his first visit. One of the main objects of Plato's last visit was to give to the monarch instruction in philosophy if he was in earnest in desiring it; and in one of the most important passages of the 7th Epistle (340b-341b) we have an account of his procedure. We there hear of an interview between the two in which Plato's attempts to lay the foundations for a course of teaching were interrupted by the statement of Dionysius that he was already acquainted with the most important part of what Plato proposed to teach him. Again, in 345a, Plato states definitely that he gave Dionysius one lesson (*μία συνουσία*), and one only, and no other on any subsequent occasion. If, therefore, we regard the 2nd and 7th Letters as both genuine, it follows that the discussion in the 2nd Letter must be the same as the *συνουσία* described in the 7th, and we have no choice except to date the 2nd Letter after the Olympic Games of 360 B.C.

Is this date improbable on other grounds? C. Ritter (*N.U.*, p. 372) states that, if the contents oblige us to assign it to this date, it must necessarily be a forgery. He does not give his reasons; but apparently he means that the breach between Plato and Dionysius at this date was so complete as to render further correspondence between them impossible. This is a deduction from his own purely arbitrary theory that Plato's only motive for making his last journey to Sicily was to look after the interests of Dion. But a fair reading of the 7th Epistle shows that Plato was quite as much influenced by the desire not to miss a chance, if there was one, of the conversion of Dionysius to the philosophic life. It is also clear from what he said to Dion at Olympia (350c, d) that he cherished no animosity against Dionysius personally. He was not a vindictive man, and he regarded philosophy as much the most important concern for any man, whoever he might be. He recognised that Dionysius had good natural ability (338d 6), and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, if he saw any possibility of helping him, even at the eleventh hour, to a sounder study of the necessary groundwork of philosophical thought, he would try to take advantage of it. If we suppose that the mission of Archdemus took place at some date not long after the Olympic Games of 360 B.C., it may well have put Plato's mind once more into the state so vividly described in *Ep.* VII. 339c—unwillingness to take the risk of

missing any opportunity of saving a soul.

At the same time we need not imagine that the mission arose from any desire for salvation on the part of Dionysius. We may assume that his informants, on their arrival from Olympia, told him that Dion had been talking big about reprisals. It was worth his while to take steps to embarrass Dion, and Plato might suitably be requested to use his influence with his own friends. There had been no outward breach of friendly relations between them: Plato owed and acknowledged a debt of gratitude to the monarch, and had openly refused to assist the action threatened by Dion. Dionysius may well have pressed him to go further and prevent his own associates from joining in any aggressions. Plato could not be expected to restrain Dion from taking action with the aid of his Peloponnesian friends, but he might prevent him from getting supporters from Athens.

Read in this light, the early part of the 2nd Epistle applies very well to the position in the latter part of 360 B.C., before Dion had actually begun to enlist mercenaries—better, in fact, than to the state of affairs in 364 B.C.

There is one minor point in the 2nd Epistle which harmonises better with the later than with the earlier date. The request of Speusippus (314e) that Dionysius would lend him the services of his court-physician Philistion is not likely to have been made before Speusippus had visited Syracuse.

J. HARWARD.

#### NOTES ON THE *HIPPIAS MAIOR*.

283a: τῶν γὰρ προτέρων περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου λέγεται πολλὴ ἀμαθία κατὰ τὸν σὺν λόγον. τοῦναντίον γὰρ Ἀναξαγόρα φασὶ συμβῆναι ἢ ὑμῖν.

SOCRATES then proceeds to say how little Anaxagoras cared for worldly wealth. The difficulty is in the words περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου λέγεται. Stallbaum omitted them altogether and is followed by the Budé editors, and they are bracketed by Burnet in the Oxford text. The words occur, however, in all the manuscripts. It seems unsatisfactory to look upon them as a gloss, for they

are not only incorrect (Socrates is not referring primarily to Anaxagoras, but to all the earlier philosophers up to the time of Anaxagoras), but in view of Ἀναξαγόρα in the next line the words are amazingly superfluous.

Other editors have deleted either Ἀναξαγόρου, reading τῶν γὰρ προτέρων πέρι λέγεται, or περὶ Ἀναξαγόρου, reading τῶν γὰρ προτέρων λέγεται. Now although any of these readings makes sense, not one of them accounts for the insertion of the word or words it desires to omit.

I think the key to this passage is to be found in 281c, where Socrates, contrasting, as here, the wise men of old with the contemporaries of Hippias, says: ἀτάρ, ὦ Ἱππία, τί ποτε τὸ αἴτιον ὅτι οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκεῖνοι, ὧν ὀνόματα μεγάλα λέγεται ἐπὶ σοφία, Πιπτακοῦ τε καὶ Βίαντος καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν Μιλήσιον Θαλῆν καὶ ἔτι τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι Ἀναξαγόρου κ.τ.λ.

In the passage under discussion Socrates is referring to the same class of people, and he would refer to them in very much the same words, except that he would not repeat all the proper names of 281c. That is why I propose to read: τῶν γὰρ προτέρων μέχρι Ἀναξαγόρου λέγεται πολλὴ ἀμαθία κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον. Careless copying may account for the change from μέχρι to περὶ, for as the eye runs along the line it is inclined to take the words μέχρι Ἀναξαγόρου λέγεται together, and the preposition would then be misread. This reading does account for the word Ἀναξαγόρου, nor do I think the change a violent one. In any case the verb λέγεται must be retained, for it fits in very well, and some such verb is usually expressed with a locution like κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον (*Gorg.* 471a, 472a; *Hipp. Mai.* 293b). The jingle λέγεται λόγον is of course thoroughly Platonic.

288a: 'Ἰθι μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀποκρίναι· ταῦτα πάντα ἃ φης καλὰ εἶναι, εἰ τί ἐστὶν αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, ταῦτ' ἂν εἴη καλὰ; ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ ἐρῶ ὅτι εἰ παρθένος καλὴ καλόν, ἔστι δι' ὃ τὰ ὕτ' ἂν εἴη καλὰ;

I give the reading of the Oxford text. The manuscripts give διό and διότι.

Stallbaum read δι' ὃ. The above must be translated: 'Am I to answer that, if a beautiful maiden is the beautiful (or a beautiful thing), there exists that through which those things are beautiful?' This awkward construction would be much improved by reading, with Schanz, ἔστι τι, though the change is not absolutely necessary. To avoid the vague and obscure ἔστι δι' ὃ, others put a comma after καλὴ and read εἰ παρθένος καλὴ, καλόν ἐστι δι' ὃ ταῦτ' κ.τ.λ. 'that if a maiden is beautiful, there is something beautiful through which these things are beautiful.' I do not think that καλόν can be taken as τὸ καλόν here, for although Plato frequently omits the article with the neuter singular used as an abstract noun, he only does so when the word with which the article seems to be required is the predicate, not, as here, the subject of the sentence. Altogether, the abruptness of this second reading is very harsh and unpleasant. Besides, Hippias' suggestion in 287e was not παρθένος καλὴ, but παρθένος καλὴ καλόν.

Taking the MSS. reading ΔΙΟΤΑΤ-ΤΑΝ I would suggest that the O and the A changed places. This would give us the reading εἰ παρθένος καλὴ καλόν ἐστι, διὰ τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη καλὰ; 'Am I to answer that, if a beautiful maiden is the beautiful, it is through this that they are beautiful,' ταῦτα being understood from ταῦτα in the question. Not only is the sense thus perfectly clear, but the construction is simple and straightforward.

G. M. A. GRUBE.

## MORE NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE NICOMACHEAN ETHICS.<sup>1</sup>

1094b 4. For δὲ write δὴ, and so 1108a 4, 1112b 8, 1153b 19.

<sup>1</sup> A previous paper appeared in the *Classical Review*, Vol. XXXIX., pp. 157 ff. I take this opportunity of correcting two mistakes. On 1115a 23 Professor Burnet's defence of φθόνον by οἱ φθονοῦντες in *E.E.* should be accepted; in the context οἱ ζηλοῦντες of *E.E.* also corresponds to ἡ τι τῶν τοιοῦτων of *N.E.*, ἡ οἱ αἰσχυρόμενοι to ὕβριν κ.τ.λ. The correspondence is obscured because *E.E.* confines the terms φόβοι and φοβερά to dangers in which ἀνδρεία can be displayed. On 1115b 11 f. I was anticipated by Professor Burnet's text in putting a comma after ὅς δέι δέ.

1103b 32. πράττειν <δεῖν>.

1105a 28. ἀρκεῖ οὖν ταῦτά (K<sup>b</sup>: αὐτά L<sup>b</sup>) πως ἔχοντα γενέσθαι: ταῦτα αὐτά πως ἔχοντα would give the full sense.

1105b 7 f. οὐχ ὃ ταῦτα πράττων ἀλλὰ καὶ [ὃ] οὕτω πράττων ὡς κ.τ.λ. Bywater, cf. 1130a 7 οὐχ ὃ πρὸς αὐτὸν . . . ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἕτερον. But Γ and inf. MSS. there have ἀλλ' ὃ πρὸς ἕτερον, so perhaps here ἀλλ' ὃ καὶ οὕτω πράττων.

1106b 4. ὁμοίως <δ'> ἐπὶ.

1107b 4 ff. Here as perhaps elsewhere the Table of Virtues seems to have been assimilated to the detailed

treatment below. Richards improves the run of the sentence by bracketing *καὶ λύπας*, but why should it have been interpolated? I would rather bracket *οὐ πάσας*, ἦττον δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς λύπας as marginal notes from 1117b 25 f., 1118a 1 f. (it is true the *καὶ* is hard to account for, unless the note ran ἦττον δὲ καὶ <οὐχ ὁμοίως> περὶ, as Bywater suggests for the text). It is probable that in the Table *σωφροσύνη* is περὶ ἡδονὰς καὶ λύπας merely, as *ἀνδρεία* περὶ φόβους καὶ θάρρη, and *ἐλευθεριότης* περὶ δόσιν χρημάτων καὶ λήψιν: the qualifications are out of place here, as Bywater's dashes almost admit.

1108b 27 ff. *πλείστη*: *πλείων* Γ, but there are three pairs of opposites, see l. 13; so bracket *ἡ πρὸς τὸ μέσον*.

1108b 31 φαίνεται <εἶναι>.

1109b 5. ἀφέλκειν [δεῖ]? The repetition of *δεῖ* is inappropriate, since *σκοπεῖν δὲ δεῖ κ.τ.λ.* ἐς τὸνναντίον δ' ἐαυτοὺς ἔλκειν is a single device for hitting the mean, not two separate devices. ἄλλοι γὰρ—*πεφύκαμεν* and *τοῦτο δ'*—*περὶ ἡμᾶς* are two successive parentheses.

1111a 18. <ὅ> καὶ οὐ ἔνεκα Richards rightly, taking *ἐν οἷς ἡ πρᾶξις* to mean all the particulars or circumstances of an act. These are first denoted by *ἐν οἷς καὶ περὶ ἃ ἡ πρᾶξις*, l. 1, and then enumerated under six heads. The third, *περὶ τί ἡ ἐν τίνι πράττει*, l. 4, is proved by the example, l. 11, to mean the 'patient,' the person or thing affected by the act. It is awkward that both *ἐν* and *περὶ*, used generically in l. 1, should be used specifically in l. 4; one is tempted there to bracket *ἡ ἐν τίνι*, leaving *περὶ* alone to denote the 'patient,' while *ἐν* throughout will denote the circumstances in general. It is not surprising that the general *ἐν* should be reinforced at l. 1 by the particular *περὶ*, since *ἐν* does not apply very well to the 'patient,' nor indeed to others of the circumstances when they come to be enumerated. At l. 16 *ἐν οἷς ἡ πρᾶξις* is bracketed by Ramsauer and Burnet, but, if the interpretation of it here supported is right, it is unobjectionable there. But I should bracket it at l. 18, where it has no construction. Richards accepts it there for *τῶν* or *ἐκείνων ἐν οἷς*, but it looks like a gloss.

1114b 26 ff. Nicomachus may not have been very skilful at transitions, but this is the limit. K<sup>b</sup> gives *κοινῇ μὲν οὖν περὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν εἴρηται ἡ μὲν (ἡμῖν cett., edd.) τὸ (τό τε L<sup>b</sup>) γένος ὅτι μεσότης καὶ ἕξις (μεσότητες καὶ ἕξεις L<sup>b</sup>, μεσότητές εἰσιν καὶ ὅτι ἕξεις cett., edd.), ὑφ' ὧν τε γίνονται, ὅτι (καὶ ὅτι L<sup>b</sup>) τούτων πρακτικαὶ (πρακτικοὶ L<sup>b</sup>M<sup>b</sup>, πρακτικαὶ καὶ Γ) καθ' αὐτάς (κατὰ ταύτας M<sup>b</sup>), καὶ ὅτι ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκούσιοι, καὶ οὕτως ὡς ἂν ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος προστάξῃ. Richards points out that the vulgate *ὅτι μεσότητές εἰσι καὶ ἕξεις* puts the species before the genus (the *γένος* of *ἀρετῇ* is ἕξις 1106a 12, 14), and he therefore transposes the nouns. But here as elsewhere K<sup>b</sup> faithfully preserves a primitive error: *ὅτι μεσότης καὶ ἕξις* is betrayed both by its singular number and its *ὑστερον πρότερον* as a note, or rather (since it gives two things as the *γένος* of *ἀρετῇ*) a conflation of two notes, the first incorrect and the second correct. When these had got into the text, L<sup>b</sup> emended the singular to plural, and others touched it up by adding *εἰσιν* and the second *ὅτι*.—*καὶ οὕτως ὡς ἂν ὁ ὀ. λ. προστάξῃ* Richards would put either after *μεσότητες* (but it will not do there, as it is not a good paraphrase of *ὠρισμένην λόγῳ* 1107a 1), or at the very least after *καθ' αὐτάς*. The latter location, which makes *οὕτως* qualify *πρακτικαί*, is supported by 1103b 29 ff., *ἀναγκαῖον . . . πράττειν κοινόν*, the only previous passage given in Bywater's Index where *ὀρθὸς λόγος* has occurred. Accepting therefore this place for *οὕτως*—*προστάξῃ*, what can we make of *τούτων πρακτικαὶ καθ' αὐτάς*? *καθ' αὐτάς* is explained by Stewart and Burnet as meaning 'not κατὰ συμβεβηκός,' but this does not correspond with anything said hitherto, and seems irrelevant, if not indeed pointless. I would rather take it as opposed to *καὶ οὕτως ὡς κ.τ.λ.*, and read with Γ *πρακτικαὶ καὶ καθ' αὐτάς*: 'the virtues are disposed to perform, both in accordance with themselves and as right principle may dictate, those actions by which they are generated'; this gives a tolerable résumé of 1104a 27-b 3, and a clumsy allusion to the relation of the moral virtues to *φρόνησις*—though this has not yet been dealt with save in the*

phrase *ὡς* (or *ὥ*) *ἀν* *ὁ* *φρόνιμος* *ὀρίσσει* 1107a 1. But is *τούτων πρακτικά* applied to *ἀρεταί* a possible phrase? It is true that Aristotle speaks of *πρακτικά ἀρεταί*, and also that at 1116a 11 f. and 1120b 9 a virtue is put instead of a virtuous man as the subject of a verb. But *πρακτικός* c. gen. is normally masculine; the only exception I have noted is *Rhet.* 1360b 7, *δύναμις πρακτικὴ καὶ φυλακτικὴ τούτων*. I am therefore inclined to take a hint from M<sup>b</sup>, and write *ὑφ' ὧν τε γίνονται ὅτι τούτων πρακτικοὶ κατ' αὐτάς, καὶ οὕτως ὡς ἀν* *ὁ* *δ.* *λ.* *προστάξῃ*, 'and that they make us disposed to perform those actions by which they are generated, and to perform them as right principle may dictate.' I suggest that it is *καὶ ὅτι ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκούσιοι* that has got displaced, and would transpose it before *ὑφ' ὧν τε γίνονται*, thus obtaining a subject for *ὅτι πρακτικοὶ* from *ἡμῖν*; though it is true that we then lose the juxtaposition of *ἐκούσιοι* and *οὐχ ὁμοίως δὲ αἱ πράξεις ἐκούσιοι* which Richards secures.

1116a 11. *αἰρεῖται καὶ*: write *θαρρεῖ καὶ* or *θαρρεῖ τε καὶ*. *θαρρεῖ καὶ* by dittography might become *θαρρεῖται καὶ* and be emended to *αἰρεῖται καὶ*: or *αἰρεῖται* might be an aural error for *θαρρεῖ τε*. *αἰρεῖται* is not really supported, though it may be partly accounted for, by 1117b 14 f. The courageous man both passively *ὑπομένει τὰ φοβερά* and actively *θαρρεῖ περὶ τὰ θαρραλέα* when it is right to do so; see 1115b 13-24. That is why courage has two pairs of vices corresponding to it (though the two vices of defect are not found separately).

1121a 10. *ὅτι* <*καὶ*> *ὑπερβολαί*.

1122a 22. *ἐν ταύταις*?

1122b 4. *πρέπον* [*τῷ ἔργῳ*]: 'suitable (to the occasion)' is meant.

1123b 31. Write *γ'* (MSS. *τ'*) *ἀν ἀρμόζοι*: or else *γούν ἀρμόζει*, putting the *ἀν* into the preceding line, where editors rightly desiderate it. This sentence proves the preceding one by *reductio ad absurdum* in the particular instances of cowardice and dishonesty.

1131b 5. *διήρηται*: *διηρήσθω*?

1139a 30. *τοῦ δὲ πρακτικοῦ* [*καὶ*] *διανοητικοῦ*.

1141a 22. *δὴ* (*δ'* M<sup>b</sup>): *γάρ*? And 1141b 27 *δὲ*: *γάρ*?

1141a 25. Perhaps *τὸ γὰρ* <*τὸ*> *περὶ αὐτὰ* (αὐτὸ MSS.) *ἕκαστα* [*τὸ*] (om. Γ M<sup>b</sup>) *εὐ θεωροῦν φησὶν εἶναι φρόνιμον καὶ τούτῳ ἐπιτρέψει αὐτά* (or *αὐτό*: *αὐτά* Ald. et corr.<sup>2</sup> K<sup>b</sup>, *αὐτό* ut videtur Eustratius, *αὐτά* vulg.), 'For each race of beings pronounces prudent, and will entrust itself (or, its welfare) to, one who can discern its own particular welfare.' For *τὸ περὶ αὐτὰ εὐ* = *τὸ αὐτῶν εὐ* cf. 1142a 1, *τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν* = *αὐτοῦ* (Burnet), and *ιδ.* 9 *τὸ αὐτοῦ εὐ*. *ἕκαστα* is plural to denote a race or kind, neuter to include animals and superhuman beings (*supra* l. 21) as well as man. Each kind has a different good, and therefore attaches a different meaning to *φρόνιμος*.

1141b 33. *εἶδος μὲν οὖν τι ἀν εἴη γνώσεως τὸ* (τὸ τὰ L<sup>b</sup>M<sup>b</sup>) *αὐτῷ εἰδέναι* edd., but *αὐτῷ εἰδέναι* for *sibi sapere* is improbable; L<sup>b</sup> gives *αὐτῷ*, but K<sup>b</sup> *αὐτοῦ*, corrected to *αὐτῷ* and then to *αὐτὸν* (Apelt), M<sup>b</sup> *αὐτοῦ*. Bracket *γνώσεως* with Spengel as an erroneous gloss, and understand *φρονήσεως*, which Eustratius shows as a v.l., really a correct gloss; and write *τὸ τὸ αὐτοῦ εἰδέναι*, cf. 1107a 21, *διὰ τὸ τὸ μέσον εἶναι πῶς ἄκρον* (where L<sup>b</sup>N<sup>b</sup>O<sup>b</sup> omit the second *τὸ*), 1167a 34, *τὸ* <*τὸ*> *αὐτὸ ἐκάτερον εὐνοεῖν* Richards, and perhaps 1169a 6, *ὀρέγεσθαι* [*ῆ*] *τοῦ καλοῦ* [*ῆ*] *τοῦ* <*τοῦ*> *δοκοῦντος συμφέρειν* (sc. *ὀρέγεσθαι διαφέρειν*)—unless *τοῦ δοκοῦντος* can stand for *τοῦ ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ δοκοῦντος* by *comparatio compendiaria*: in any case each *ῆ* should go. L<sup>b</sup> omits the former.

1144a 28. *ἡ δύναμις* <*αὕτη*>: Hel. *αὕτη ἡ δύναμις, ἡ δεινότης*: M<sup>b</sup> simply *ἡ δεινότης*.

1145b 12. Dr. Rouse suggests to me *εἰδὼς ὅτι φαῦλα* <*φαῦλα*> *πράττειν*.

1153a 24. *μηδεμιᾶς*?

1157a 33. [*καὶ ὁμοίον τι*]: *τι* om. L<sup>b</sup>.

1166a 12. *ἐκάστων* K<sup>b</sup>, *ἐκάστῳ* vulg.: *ἐκάστου*?

1172a 7 f. *καὶ τούτων κοινωνοῦσιν ὡς οἶόν τε* (K<sup>b</sup>: *οἷς οἰοῦνται* vulg.) *συζῆν*. *εὐ ζῆν* conj. Bekker, *συζῆν* corruptum Susemihl, *ὡς οἶόν τε* [*συζῆν*] Burnet (but *ὡς οἶόν τε* is not Greek for 'as much as possible'). This is one of the places where a word from the context (*συζῆν* occurs two lines before) has ousted something quite different: *ὡς οἶόν τε* <*μάλιστα*> gives the sense

required, and that *μάλιστα* also occurs two lines before is, if anything, in its favour. *ταῦτα* and *τούτων* need no defining relative, since *ταῦτα ποιοῦσι* merely stands for *συμπίνουσιν κ.τ.λ.*

above, and is reinforced by *τούτων κοινωνοῦσι* to give the *συν*—.

1174b 13. [οὐδὲ γέσεις], reading *οὐθενὸς κίνησις* with cod. Turnebi.

H. RACKHAM.

#### DEMOSTHENES LVII. 20.

ὁ γὰρ τούτων πατὴρ Χαρίσιος ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ πάππου τοῦ ἐμοῦ Θουκριίδου καὶ Λυσάρητος τῆς ἐμῆς τήθης, θείος δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ ἐμοῦ (ἀδελφὴν γὰρ ὁ πάππος οὐμὸς ἔγχευεν οὐχ ὁμομητρίαν). The phrase *θείος . . . ἐμοῦ* has surely been displaced, and should stand after *ὁμομητρίαν*. The parenthetic clause explains why Charisios can be at once the brother of the speaker's grandfather and of the speaker's grandmother; the former relationship suffices to make Charisios the uncle of the speaker's father. And as in the two following cases, the description of the witness should end crisply on the note of kinship.

W. RENNIE.

#### FLOS DELIBATUS POPULI SUADAE- QUE MEDULLA.<sup>1</sup>

THE description of the orator Cethegus as 'the marrow of persuasion,' while it won the admiration of Cicero, seems to have struck Seneca as *ridiculus* (*v. Gell. XII. 2. 3*) and it must be confessed that the metaphor, so taken, is a rather violent one. Could we not soften it by supposing that Ennius was here playing to some extent on the etymology of *suada* (*suavis: ἡδύς*)? 'The marrow of sweetness' or 'of honeyed words' is a perfectly natural phrase; it recalls the *suaviloquenti* of four lines back, and goes excellently with *flos delibatus populi*. 'The choice blossom, the honeyed essence of the people'—the poet may be thinking of the flower sipped by the bee, and it may not be necessary to ascribe to *suada* the further meaning of 'persuasion.'

The word *suada* does not seem to occur apart from this passage and the references to it. The use of the adjective *suadus* appears from L. and S. to be confined to comparatively late authors—Statius, etc. Is it too much to suppose that in the time of Plautus the secondary meaning had not arisen, or at least had not yet driven the (presumably) primary one completely underground?

W. BEARE.

<sup>1</sup> Ennius *Ann.* 308 (Vahlen).

#### CICERO, AD FAMILIARES, IX. 25, 3.

IN C.R. XXXIX., p. 113, R. L. Dunbabin suggests that *tam* be deleted in Cicero, *Ad Fam.* IX. 25, 3: 'Non me hercule tam perscribere possum quam mihi gratum feceris si . . .' The manuscript reading should, it seems to me, be retained. It is supported by the use of *tantum quantum* and *tantum quam* in the following passages:

Cic. *Att.* VI. 4, 3: 'Non queo tantum, quantum vereor, scribere.'

Ennius, Ribbeck, p. 70 (ed. 2, p. 62), 324: 'Non potis ecfari tantum dictis, quantum factis suppetit.' (Cited in Cic. *Tusc.* II. 17, 39.) [*non potis ecfari*, Davisius: *non potest ecfari*, Brix: *non potest haec fari*, Gud. Reg.: *tantum om.* Bentley.]

Ter. *Hec.* 417: 'Non hercle verbis, Parmeno, dici potest | Tantum quam reapse navigare incommodumst.' [*quantum* for *quam* A. *reapse* Tyrrell: *re ipsa* codd.]

Buecheler 709, 12 (CIL. V. 6728): 'Tantaque fari nequeo, quanta insunt gratiae opes.'

The above passages are cited in my dissertation 'The Indicative Indirect Question in Latin' (private edition, distributed by the University of Chicago Libraries, 1920), p. 55, footnote. The last example, which belongs probably to the sixth century, is of interest as showing that the construction was used in late, as well as in early and in Ciceronian, Latin.

In the following example the use of *adeo ut* is similar to that of *tam quam* in the passage under discussion, though the occurrence of the subjunctive mood in *adorti essent* makes it seem probable that we have here a confusion of the relative clause and the indirect question (see 'The Confusion of the Indirect Question and the Relative Clause in Latin,' *Classical Philology*, XIII. (1918), p. 60 ff.):

Claudius Quadrigarius, *ap.* Non. p. 508 (Peter, frag. 47): 'Adeo memorari uix potestur, ut omnes simul suum quisque negotium adorti essent.' [*suum*] *sunt* libri.]

ALICE F. BRAUNLICH.

## REVIEWS

### DR. GRUNDY'S HISTORY.

*A History of the Greek and Roman World.* By G. B. GRUNDY. I vol. Pp. vii + 536. Two maps. London: Methuen and Co., 1926. 22s. 6d. net.

DR. GRUNDY has written a short history of Greece and Rome in a breezy style; the breeze, however, enlivens only a very shallow sea of thought. The following is a typical paragraph:

'He who would admire the Greek character must shut his eyes to the pitiable state of Greece in the fourth and third centuries, a state due solely to the utter political incapacity of a race which regarded nothing short of licence as liberty; which regarded power as giving the holder the right to plunder at his will, and looked on the murder of political opponents as the only method of dealing with political opposition. Unbridled democracy in Greece meant the rule of the ignorant and corrupt. Its opponents had been driven to retaliations such as are the outcome of exasperation. The result was two centuries of misery to which no country at any other period of European history can afford a parallel. Should anyone regard this as too pessimistic, let him read the dreary tales of war, murder, and spoliation which form nine-tenths of the story of Greece in these centuries, and then try to realise what it all meant to the people who lived through it all.'

How many political murders took place in Athens during these two centuries? On the other hand, they produced Plato, Aristotle, Lysippus, Apelles, Menander, . . . : why not study them, and we should not only be helped to 'realise what it all meant to the people who lived through it all,' but might think that such men, even if forming only the odd one-tenth of the story of Greece of this time, yet make that time one in which it would be well worth while to have lived; especially since, as even Dr. Grundy admits on an earlier page (259), it was one of material prosperity. I omit Demosthenes from this list, for to Dr. Grundy he is only a windbag: to me this sort of superficial vigour seems valueless. It does not even provoke opposition, let alone thought.

Naturally, in a history written in this style, there is much detail with which a sober historian will not agree. I give a few examples only. On p. 20 we are told that the Greeks had little commercial intercourse with Etruria; on p. 74 that 'to the Greek of the fifth century the tyrant was anathema,' as though Herodotus and Thucydides were not sufficient evidence to the contrary. P. 77: 'Messenia proved a heritage of woe to Sparta'; but it was not till she lost Messenia that Sparta ceased to be a strong power and one of the bulwarks of Greece; and there is much exaggeration in the view that most Spartans were unacquainted with the outside world, and that they rigidly excluded

all foreigners. On pp. 128-130 we are given a fanciful account of Athenian parties between 507 and 490 B.C., without the suggestion of reasonable doubt—ultra-democrats, Alcmaeonids, and Peisistratids in alliance with one another and with Persia, and the treachery at Marathon. It was the ultra-democrats, again, who decided—in their own interests—on the maintenance of the empire, and were probably responsible for the quarrel with Thasos (pp. 160-1); but it was Cimon who conquered Thasos, and Stesimbrotus attacked Cimon as well as the democratic leaders. Demosthenes 'advocated consistently the weakening of the power of Sparta and of Thebes' (p. 257). Aeschines did not think so, at any rate. Again, in the third Philippic, 'he made an extremely foolish understatement of Philip's military ability. Philip must have wished that there were a few more like Demosthenes among his enemies': Dr. Grundy does not add that Demosthenes had, in fact, a very just appreciation of the power of Philip and of the weakness of the Athenian democracy, and was seldom tired of pointing this out in the ecclesia. Strangest of all is such a judgment as this: 'If Alexander wished to hellenise the East he went a very strange way about it—he who in the last years of his short life became himself orientalised'; for what else did Alexander achieve? We have also many sweeping statements about Greek ideas: such as that mediocrism was not thought a crime in 490; that Alcibiades' conduct in Sparta 'would not have struck any Greek as treasonable' (one might almost suppose that there was no such word as *προδοτής*), and that 'modesty would not have appealed to the Greek mind as a virtue'—I suppose Dr. Grundy has heard of Socrates. And when all that an historian has to say of the *De Corona* is that Demosthenes dedicated 'the greatest monument of his eloquence to a futile personal squabble,' one can only wonder why he writes about Greece at all. What interest can he have in the country? This, apparently:

'Alexander marched into Greece just to show the Athenians and others what would happen to them if they were naughty. He left it at



that. He did not punish the Athenians, hoping that they had by now discovered that it was stupid to be silly at the bidding of Demosthenes.'

There are also some serious omissions: no account is given of the actual working of a Greek democracy, and the paragraph on Cleisthenes' reforms is quite inadequate (and, I should judge, unintelligible to anyone not already acquainted with the facts). There is no mention of the connexion between the attack on the Areopagus in 462 and the introduction of the lot in the election of archons in 487—a cardinal factor in the development of Athenian democracy. We hear very little of the effects of the Macedonian conquest on Greece itself (she got very little unity and no peace in return for the loss of independence), and nothing of the way in which the Hellenisation of the East aided the spread of Christianity into Europe. There was more obvious political incompetence and corruption in Rome in the century before the establishment of the principate, more proscription and civil strife, than at any time in Greece; yet Rome survived and succeeded where Greece failed. The historian should at least emphasise this, if he cannot explain it.

Not, of course, that there is nothing

of interest in this book. Dr. Grundy gives a clear account of the causes of Sparta's peculiar policy; though he exaggerates the power and the hostility of the Helots—if there were 35,000 of them, armed, at Plataea, they were not all active enemies. He writes sensibly, as he has elsewhere, on the paradox of Greek warfare—the almost exclusive reliance on hoplites in a country so admirably suited to light-armed troops; though here, too, he does not notice one peculiarity—that Greek cities seldom attempted to defend their easily defensible frontiers. His account of the army reforms of Marius is good.

Dr. Grundy claims that he makes no attempt 'to write a history which shall be . . . *tendenziös*'; but he sums up at the end with the moral that the sword decides. 'Whatever their aspirations, high or low, they [the Romans] attain them by fighting for them, and, to come to the crudest but most effective factor in their history, by the possession, in the form of the Spanish sword, of the most effective weapon of their time.' But what of the vitality and intelligence of the wielders of the sword, and their reaction to the ideas which inspire them? Anyone can get possession of a sword.

A. W. GOMME.

### ANCIENT GREECE AT WORK.

*Ancient Greece at Work.* An Economic History of Greece from the Homeric Period to the Roman Conquest. By GUSTAVE GLOTZ. Translated by M. R. DOBIE. Pp. xii + 402; forty-nine illustrations in text. (The History of Civilisation.) London: Kegan Paul; New York: Knopf, 1926. 16s.

GLOTZ, *Le Travail dans la Grèce ancienne*, rightly classified as 'important' in *Year's Work* 1921, is probably the best general sketch of Greek economics between the Homeric and the Hellenistic ages, as it is certainly a stimulating and delightful work to read. An English translation will be doubly welcomed by the teacher, inasmuch as the detailed knowledge upon which the study is based has been thoroughly digested,

and the book may be read with profit and interest by the sixth form boy as well as by more advanced students. From this point of view perhaps a little more might have been said about Athenian state finance in the fifth century, and I should have been tempted to distinguish a little more definitely than the author has done between the general economic conditions in Athens in the fifth century and those prevalent in the fourth. The economic results of the Greek world war receive curiously little notice.

The omission of references to the passages in ancient authors, which is common to the French and English versions, may be an economy, but it impairs some of the usefulness of the book. The reference for the alleged

hard drinking of the Hesiodic ploughman (p. 40), still more definitely a libel in the French 'boit sec,' might be difficult to supply. The discussion of the state's control of the corn trade might have been extended to embrace the timber trade. The account of the Periclean cleruchies (pp. 149-150) is liable to mislead the guileless, particularly the terms of the reference to the arrangements in Lesbos, for which see the note in Hicks and Hill, No. 61. The subsequent use of 'cleruch' (p. 152), not in the technical sense of a member of a cleruchy, but in that of a citizen holding an ancestral lot of ground at home, is unfortunate because liable to mislead.

The translation is readable but could be improved. The spelling of the names has suffered from confusion between different conventions. Dodone follows French, not English, custom; Peiraeus follows neither; forms like Chalciaecos, Alcaeos, or Lampsacos are not correct transliterations nor defensible either by Latin or by English usage. We say Colchian, not Colchidian; and surely Sosas (p. 215), though it appears in the French text, must either be Sosos or, more probably,

Sosias. The 'infallible Dice' (p. 81) to an English eye suggests a cynical view of Hesiodic Dike. 'Demiurge' is not a useful equivalent for *demiourgos* in the economic sense, because in its neo-Platonic sense it has become an English word. The curious statements that wine was poured *from* a bottomless vase (p. 78), and that Nicias paid a talent *to* his mine-manager (p. 281) are due to mistranslation. The rendering of idiom or the choice of words is not invariably happy. 'Colonisation was done at a venture' (p. 79) is not English. Can you *mellow* sods with a hoe (p. 64) or cut *timber* from *thickets* (p. 127)?

The figures in the text are a good selection of familiar illustrations; with two smudgy and unpleasant exceptions (Figs. 24 and 28) they are adequate.

The translation has a bibliography which the French version has not. Such lists are always difficult to draw up, but I should have expected for the student and the general reader a mention of more of the accessible English books. For instance, Hill's *Historical Greek Coins*, Ormerod's *Piracy*, or the essays in Kennedy's translation of Demosthenes (Bohn), particularly those in vols. i. and iv., occur to one offhand.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

## NEW CHAPTERS IN GREEK ART.

*New Chapters in Greek Art.* By PERCY GARDNER, D.Litt., F.B.A. Pp. xiv + 368. Sixteen plates. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. 21s. net.

THE chapters of this book are mostly reprints of articles published in the *Hellenic Journal* and elsewhere since 1888. It would be useful if the place and date of the original publication were printed at the head of each for convenience of reference when one wishes to see how the author has modified his views. As to the Greek stage he still holds to opinions expressed in 1898, but his arguments do not seem sufficiently effective, though this may be due to their presentation. Unfortunately he does not discuss the architectural evidence of Hellenistic theatres such as those of Priene and Delos, and treats in detail only the theatre at Athens. Professor Bulle has lately discovered that

the seats of the older theatre here were in straight lines, and that the *proskenion* does not belong to the Lycurgan building (*J.H.S.*, 1924, p. 271). The publication of his researches on this and other theatres should prove important. The reprints of contributions to *Corolla Numismatica* are welcome, for papers which appear in *Festschriften* are practically buried alive. The older articles should have been recast and brought up to date with references to the later literature. In the discussion of the Agias and Apoxyomenos, Wolters' paper in the *Bayerische Sitzungsberichte* for 1913 is not quoted. Wolters, from a fresh study of the Pharsalian and Delphian inscriptions, decides that the latter is the earlier, and that the Agias has no claim to be Lysippic. By thus upholding the Apoxyomenos he arrives at exactly the opposite result

to Professor Gardner. A chronological arrangement of the chapters would have been an improvement, because now the Agias and Lysippus are followed by the Cleobis and Biton, and by Myron's Marsyas. The study of the Ashmolean female figure of Pheidias style is useful, but we wish that opinions such as those of Kekule, Schrader, Treu and Amelung were fully discussed, for the author merely says: 'These suggestions of very competent archaeologists would have to be carefully weighed by anyone who wrote on the art of Pheidias. But as neither of the figures mentioned is an original, nor similar in type to the Oxford lady, I need not here more fully discuss them. We have now the advantage of having a recent and very detailed study of Pheidias by Professor Schrader. It raises many points which one would like to discuss, and on the whole it contributes largely to the advancement of our knowledge.' He bases his idea of Pheidias on the Lenormant, Varvakeion and Patras statuettes, but observes, 'copies of the Roman age are a most slippery and inadequate ground for theories as to the statues from which they derive,' and thus weakens his arguments.

The addresses on Fifty Years of Progress in Classical Archaeology and to the Archaeological Congress and the Hellenic Society were by their nature ephemeral, and it would have been wise to omit them in favour of something more permanent. A disappointing chapter is that on Originals and Ancient Copies, where we hoped the author

would have given us the fruits of his long experience. In his *New Chapters in Greek History*, published in 1892, Professor Gardner devoted three to Schliemann's discoveries at Troy, Tiryns and Mycenae. Now he depreciates all this work by saying: '... the revelation of the pre-history of Greece and Crete ... has not a very important bearing on the Greece of historic times, which is separated from it by an age of barbarism, in which the works of the older civilisation perished, and the foundations of a new and nobler civilisation were laid. Modern history ... begins with the rise of Hellas in the sixth century. Egypt, Babylon, Cnosus were then passing, and a new world was coming into being.' '... The culture of Mycenae seems to have been almost completely extinguished by the coming in of the barbarous Greeks from the north; and the culture of Ionia seems to have started afresh, centuries later, being fertilised by a contact with the old-world civilisations of Babylon and Egypt.' 'The chasm dividing pre-historic from historic Greece is growing wider and deeper...' To these views we cannot subscribe because it is more and more evident that the chasm is becoming shallower and narrower. Milchhöfer and Wide long since divined that the origin of classical Greek art lay hidden in the Bronze Age culture. Greek art evolved from a renaissance which occurred in the early Iron Age, and its newest chapters are those now being written around its older periods.

A. J. B. WACE.

#### SAPPHO.

Σαπφούς Μέρη: *The Fragments of the Lyrical Poems of Sappho*. Ed. EDGAR LOBEL. Pp. lxxviii + 81, 1 table of grammatical forms. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1925. 21s. net.

THERE are two ways of editing Sappho: one is to take the words and fragments of words which are decipherable in the papyrus and conjecturally to construct a framework to fit them—the *ex pede* or rather *ex digito Herculeum* system; the other is to record faithfully what can be read, and to avoid the possibilities

of error in which conjecture must involve us. The former is the more interesting way both for the editor and the reader, but it inevitably tends to become artistic rather than scientific, and on artistic questions there can be no consensus. Mr. Lobel has followed the stony path unswervingly, steeling himself, as he says, 'against the seductive apparition of Conjecture'; and his strict conservatism has produced a good and in many ways valuable book.

The text is reproduced with pains-

taking, and indeed painful, fidelity. Many of the fragments here recorded can be of no possible value at present to any but the philologist, while in some—for example, 8. 13 (b), which consists of three lines containing one, two, and three letters respectively, or 25, col. 1, containing a single letter only—imagination fails to conceive any use at any time, unless we should eventually discover another text of the same period in which these particular letters, and these only, have been consumed by a discriminating worm. But, regarding the work as a whole, we cannot praise too highly the thoroughness with which the editor has performed his ungrateful task and the restraint which he has imposed on himself. A single instance will illustrate both these qualities: in *a.* 2. 3 (p. 2), he was evidently struck by the apparent false quantity in *δύνᾱμαι* (*cf.* his note *δύνᾱμαι ut vid.*) occurring at the end of a line in a fragment which is presumably in the Sapphic metre. A free lance, like the present critic, might have suggested that we have here the decapitated form of some word like *ὦδύνᾱμαι*, which would restore the scansion; but here Mr. Lobel fears to tread. In one or two instances his caution or his care seems to forsake him, as in *a.* 9. 9, where he writes *μεγάλαις ἀήταις*, as if he intended the two words to be in concord; and on p. 74, 18 n. his latinity suffers a temporary eclipse. On the other hand, in the same note he brings his special knowledge of the Aeolic dialect to bear against the attribution of this fragment to Sappho, just as in *β.* 4. 1 n. he has

condemned a conjecture of Wilamowitz on the ground that *κᾱλός* for *καλός* is not Aeolic.

His treatment of the well-known poems is disturbing; he suspects the MS. *ἔαγε* in *a.* 2. 9 on the ground that the digamma is without parallel, and prefers Cobet's *πέπαγε*. Is he justified in rejecting the usual interpretation of *τίνα δηῦτε Πείθω* on the ground that the accusative ought to be *Πείθων*? We await instructions on this point, on which perhaps the new Liddell and Scott may some day throw light.

The introduction, which occupies as much space as the text and critical notes, deals frankly and in a scholarly way with many interesting details concerning the dialect. Mr. Lobel confesses that he cannot pronounce authoritatively on questions of orthography, a subject on which no definite pronouncement can yet be made; but he considers that we have sufficient material for determining the regular form of the dative plural in Sappho, and settling the question of the digamma (*vide supra*), and enough data to allow us to say what is normal and what is abnormal in metre; in fact, the chapters on various points of prosody, such as lengthening, elision, and hiatus, give evidence of careful study of all the existing material and a sound estimation of the evidence. Perhaps the most interesting conclusion from Mr. Lobel's careful study of both the great Aeolic poets is this—that whereas in Alcaeus there is a strong literary or artificial element, the language of Sappho is non-literary—that is to say, it is pretty nearly the natural speech of her country and class.

J. F. DOBSON.

### AESCHYLEAN TRAGEDY.

*Aeschylean Tragedy.* By HERBERT WEIR SMYTH. One vol. Pp. 234. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1924. 18s. net.

PROFESSOR WEIR SMYTH expressly limits his theme to the art of Aeschylus, not referring, unless incidentally, to the predecessors or successors of the dramatist, avoiding the 'trackless wastes of anthropology,' and steering clear of the 'rock of Scylla'—by which is signified

the theory of the absolute nature of the tragic art. His book resolves itself, therefore, into a very readable account of the individual plays, with a brief discussion of their mythological substrata. Aeschylean drama is the spectacle of a conflict of will against obstacles internal or external; it presents a 'series of crises culminating in a supreme crisis'; it 'seeks to find peace for the soul troubled by the

spectacle of limitless capacity for good involved in limitless ruin.'

We trace the advance from the comparative lack of life and of psychological analysis in the *Suppliants* to the full power of the *Oresteia*. Development of character, as Professor Smyth tells us more than once, is not to be found within the limits of the single play; we should rather look for it in the relation of the different parts of the trilogy to one another. It is, no doubt, unfortunate that our only extant trilogy gives small evidence of any change of character from play to play.

The contest of opposing wills, which lies at the very centre of the art of tragedy, takes visible form first in the *Agamemnon*, in the scene between the king and Clytemnestra. The trial scene in the *Eumenides* displays the poet's scenic imagination at its highest, and in the *Choephoroi* we see the faint beginnings of 'dramatic intrigue.' The *Oresteia* generally is distinguished by its use of varied plot and striking action, and is further contrasted with the earlier plays, which are predominantly 'lyric' or 'epic' in character. For the statement on p. 174, that 'the epic poet cares more for the actor than for the action,' we feel inclined to substitute the exact converse.

The arch-hero of Aeschylus, we may

say, is Zeus. How the fervent piety of the *Suppliants* could give place to the defiance of the *Prometheus* is indeed a problem. Professor Smyth will not be persuaded that 'Aeschylus saw only evil in Prometheus' works.' Zeus himself is at fault—Zeus, the unfilial usurper and tyrant. To his guilt is due his subjection to the Fates.

The solution is looked for in the dual conception of Zeus, as a figure in Greek mythology, and as the Supreme Being. Zeus in the *Prometheus* is not the eternal principle; he had his origin, like the cosmos; he is placed in a definite time. Only the lapse of myriad ages can soften the harshness of the new ruler, and also teach humility to his self-willed foe. It was not the business of Aeschylus to say on which side lay moral right, but rather to secure a final accommodation. Just so, in the *Eumenides*, the moral problem is not decided; the votes of the judges are equal, and Athena's casting vote is designedly given on irrelevant grounds. The question at issue between the religious and the social order remains undecided. The essential thing is that the Erinyes, the Angry Ones, become the Eumenides, the Gracious Ones, and that 'Fate at the last is discovered to be one with the will of God.'

W. BEARE.

### AESCHYLUS.

*Aeschylus*. With an English translation by HERBERT WEIR SMYTH, Ph.D., Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. In 2 vols. The Loeb Library. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam. Cloth, each vol. 10s. net.

A GOOD English Aeschylus has long been lacking. This, which includes all fragments equivalent to one whole line, is better than Sidgwick's, but it scarcely fills the gap. Professor Smyth's practice, indeed, is better than his theory, which he formulates thus (I., p. xxxix): 'The authority of the Medicean is not to be rejected except under the gravest compulsion; the readings of the later manuscripts, whether due to a tradition independent of the Medicean

or to subsequent conjecture, are to be admitted only when the readings of the Medicean are untenable; and recourse is to be had to modern conjectures only when the reading of all the manuscripts is impossible or in the highest degree improbable.' In fact, the text, though somewhat timid and characterless, does not show extreme servility towards M. The editor follows Headlam, especially, in many bold changes, and might well have followed him in more; but his courage often wavers, notably in the *Agamemnon*. He does not, for instance, print, or even mention, Housman's *πειθήμονες* in *Ag.* 420 or Blomfield's *ēpos* in 485. The *apparatus* is careful, but I have noticed a few slips: on *Suppl.* 976 *χάρων* should be *ἐν χάρων*; and

on *Sept.* 239 'ἀνάμυρα Aug.' conflicts with the statement on I., p. xxxvi, of that manuscript's contents.

In style the translation, which is in prose, hovers uneasily between plain and poetical language, but Aeschylus, like Pindar, is untranslatable; and this version is conscientious, and shows quite clearly what Smyth takes Aeschylus to mean. Some renderings seem to be definitely wrong: for instance, 'sister furies' for *συγγόνων Ἐρινύων* in *Ag.* 1190; and 'Yea, for I may not promise what I shall not fulfil,' for *Eum.* 899. The Introduction and Arguments are interesting, but wordy and florid, and contain some doubtful assertions. It is surely wrong to call the Athens of Aeschylus' youth 'a petty cantonal state' (I., p. viii); or to assert, ignoring Stesichorus, that 'Aeschylus, together with Pindar, was the first to see the possibilities' of epic legend 'for a poetic

art which was to reflect the new spirit of the age' (I., p. xxvii). And who has a right to affirm that 'plot, in the later sense, genuine advance in the action, and character-drawing were absent' from pre-Aeschylean tragedy? The suggestion (I., p. xxx) that Aeschylus' successors confined themselves to 'the earth as the place of the tragic action' is untrue; the *Pirithous* is a famous later example of a play laid in Hell, and it is not unique. The word *τεμάχη* (I., p. xxviii) does not mean 'crumbs.' The true date of the *First Pythian* is given on I., p. xx; but the obsolete 474 B.C. appears in the note on *P.V.* 369. There are several misprints, mostly trivial; but 'of' for 'or' (I., p. xii, l. 19) and *χρὴ δὲ* for *χρή σε* in *P.V.* 186 are confusing.

The Bibliography and Indices are good.

D. S. ROBERTSON.

### THUCYDIDES.

*Thucydides: A Study in Historical Reality.*

By G. F. ABBOTT. Pp. ii+240.

London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1925. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. ABBOTT'S avowed purpose in producing this essay on Thucydides is to interest and, perhaps, instruct the student of modern politics by providing a clear and lively survey of that ancient master's account of a great war. If we wish him every success in his endeavour, we do so with no abounding confidence, though Prime Ministers do occasionally show us that they are able to keep a respectful and intelligent eye on the glories of Hellenic culture. But Mr. Abbott's 'most genuine motive, though least apparent in avowal,' comes gradually into evidence as his work proceeds. He has re-read Thucydides, and his mind, revisiting and reconsidering the scenes and actions and debates set forth in the strangely impressive old History, has been so deeply and warmly stirred that he felt compelled to confess his admiration, and try to impart to others his understanding of a great and noble work of art. The result is that he has written a very agreeable and useful essay. It is

throughout attractive to the ordinary cultivated reader, who will find himself drawn swiftly along, and almost forced to make or renew acquaintance with the History itself; and it also deserves the attention of professed scholars, as turning the light of a fresh and discerning mind on many questionable points. For Mr. Abbott has not merely the high literary virtue of enthusiasm for his theme: he has taken care to equip himself for the journey with a good knowledge of the principal commentaries, though he does not waste his or our time by flourishing it unnecessarily in our faces. His notes are short and to the purpose, never for vain display.

Like others who have disagreed with Mr. Cornford over *Thucydides Mythistoricus*, he finds that startling obstacle a useful means of elucidating the truth, as a star may seem more vivid between the branches of some deep and perplexing wood. His discussions of Thucydides' portraiture of Nicias, Antiphon, and Cleon are admirably sensible and clear; though in the last instance, perhaps, too much is made of the 'madman's promise'—as Thucydides

described Cleon's undertaking to capture or kill the Spartans on Sphacteria within twenty days. It is not accurate to say that 'Thucydides calls him mad.' There is also some needless worry over the discrepancy between Pericles' eulogy of Athens and the real state of things in her polity: that immortal gallantry of praise was a statesman's venture to uphold an inspiring ideal in a moment of gloom and slackening hope. Nor

does Mr. Abbott fully grasp the historian's intention in composing that sophistic nightmare, the Melian Dialogue. But constantly, in his account of the art and style of the History, his critical acuteness and good sense, sustained by the warm impulse of his admiration, give us something to pause over and weigh with the nicest balance of our judgment.

W. R. M. LAMB.

#### PHOTIADHIS ON ATTIC LAW.

Ἡ Ἀποκήρυξις ἐν τῷ Ἀρχαίῳ Ἑλληνικῷ Δικαίῳ. By P. S. PHOTIADHIS. Pp. 53. Athens: Eleutherudakis and Barth, 1925. 25 Drachmas.

WE may begin by congratulating Professor Photiadhis, who now occupies a Chair of the History of Greek Law in the University of Athens, that he has not allowed the loss of all his valuable library and papers in the destruction of Smyrna to deter him from continuing his studies of ancient Greek Law.

The treatise before us deals with the problems raised by the scanty references in ancient writers to the practice of ἀποκήρυξις, or disinheriting of sons, in Attic Law, a question which has been recently treated by E. Cuq (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript. et Belles Lettres*, XXXIX. (1913), and A. Albertoni (*L'Apokeryxis*, Bologna, 1923).

The *locus classicus* on this subject in the Orators is Demosthenes πρὸς Βοιωτόν, § 39, p. 1006: εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν νόμος . . . τοὺς γονέας ποιεῖ κυρίους οὐ μόνον θέσθαι τοῦνομόν' ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλιν ἐξαλείφει βούλωνται καὶ ἀποκηρύξαι . . . πῶς ὑμῖν ἔστιν ἄλλο τι πλὴν ἀγὼ λέγω ψηφίσασθαι; Professor Photiadhis seeks to show that many commentators, including Beauchet and Cuq, have followed Valckenaer in misunderstanding this passage by supplying τοῦνομα as the object both of ἐξαλείφει and ἀποκηρύξαι, and taking ἀποκηρύξαι as practically a synonym for ἐξαλείφει instead of in the technical sense of 'disinheriting' given to it by the lexicographers. There can be little doubt that Professor Photiadhis is right in interpreting the passage to mean

'the law gives parents the power not only to bestow names originally upon their sons, but also to delete their names from the register and to disinherit them.' This view is substantially that of Thalheim, Albertoni, and Paley and Sandys.

As to the meaning of ἀποκήρυξις, a passage is cited from Plato's *Laws* (XI., p. 928D), which defines it as τὸν υἱὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκος ἐναντίον πάντων ἀπειπεῖν υἱὸν κατὰ νόμον μηκέτι εἶναι, showing that it was exercised by parents when differences arose between them and their sons, and that the disinherited son did not necessarily lose his political status. The evidence of the lexicographers adds practically nothing to this, except that the right of ἀποκήρυξις apparently belonged also to the paternal grandfather.

Our knowledge of the practice of ἀποκήρυξις is thus somewhat scanty and leaves considerable room for conjecture; and Professor Photiadhis raises and discusses a number of interesting questions as to its application and legal consequences. As to the latter he is inclined to agree with Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who defines its effect as ἐξελάσαι τῆς οἰκίας καὶ χρήματα μὴ καταλιπεῖν, περαιτέρω δὲ οὐδέν (*Arch. Rom.* II. 26).

Other topics discussed are the story of the ἀποκήρυξις of Themistocles; the practice of disinheriting according to the Babylonian Code of Hammourabi (see V. Scheil, *La Loi de Hammourabi*, 1904), which in the opinion of Cuq may have influenced Greek law; and the practice of ἀποκήρυξις in the Gortyn Code, which only deals with the disinheriting of adopted sons.

There is still much work to be done in the elucidation of Attic Law, and it is by taking, as Professor Photiadhis has done, a single point and discussing all the available evidence that our knowledge can be best extended.

Space does not allow us to do more than mention the following other recent publications of Professor Photiadhis:

1. On the legal interpretation of Demosthenes in *Zenothemin* ('Αθηνᾶ, 1923).

2. On the emendation of Isaeus On

*the Estate of Pyrrhus*, § 61 (Δικαιοσύνη, March, 1924).

3. On the interpretation of Isaeus *On the Estate of Nicostratus* ('Επερ. τῆς Νομ. Σχολ. 1924).

[The earlier instalments of Professor Photiadhis' notes on Isaeus have already been noticed in this Journal (C.R. XXXVII. (1923) 140, XXXVIII. (1924), 12).]

4. Inaugural address to the School of Law, and interpretation and emendation of Aristot. *Ath. Pol.* 15, 4 and 16, 7 ('Επερ. τῆς Νομ. Σχολ. 1925).

E. S. FORSTER.

### THE GEOGRAPHY OF STRABO.

*The Geography of Strabo.* With an English translation by HORACE LEONARD JONES, Ph.D., LL.D. (Loeb Classical Library). Vol. III. Pp. 397. Two maps. London: William Heinemann, 1924. 10s. net.

It is beyond dispute that the ways of writing tribal lays are not more numerous than the ways of translating a classical author. Nevertheless it is sad (since the appearance of a new volume of the Loeb Strabo is a welcome event and not unimportant) to have to confess that we do not like Mr. Jones's way. His version, to tell the truth, is pedestrian. It abounds in irritating infelicities of expression, and lacks vigour, facility, and resource. It is not merely that individual words are ill-chosen or misused (e.g. 'ship-channel' is given for strait, 'fought down' for subdued, 'come on back' for return; on one and the same page a peninsula is said to be 'enclosed' by its isthmus, and a harbour by a bridge); but sentences of inept laborious crudity occur on every page, and what is still worse, there is everywhere that faithful infidelity which insists on a paratactical rendering for every occurrence of μέν and δέ. When will translators learn to treat difference of idiom with the same respect in rendering from Greek into English as they are fortunately compelled to extend to it when performing the converse operation? Where the reader, in the absence of an ideal system of super-punctuation, requires every possible help to master Strabo's

long discursive arguments, he finds himself continually tripped by the irruption of unwanted particles, and there is frequent misrendering of elementary usages for which any intelligent sixth-form boy could supply the English equivalent (e.g., 'upon mastering the Poseidoniatae they took possession of their cities. At all other times, it is true, their government was democratic, but in times of war they were wont' . . . etc.). (And Crawley's *Thucydides* was published in the seventies!) In one or two instances it is open to doubt whether the translator has rightly understood his Greek text: e.g., in VI. 4. 1, πολλὰ δ' εἰρηκότων, the subject to be supplied can hardly be the same as the nominative immediately following, the authority of Groskurd notwithstanding; in VI. 4. 2, last line but one, αὐτόν is Tiberius, not Augustus.

The restoration of the MSS. reading λαοί in VI. 1. 1 is not happy, nor is the conjecture καὶ πάντων in VI. 2. 1. In VI. 2. 11 μυλίας should surely be μυλίας. Both μυλίας and μυλῆτης occur elsewhere as adjectives, and Meineke reads μυλῆταις here, not μυλῆταις as stated.

Proper names are mostly given in their Greek form with Latinised spelling (e.g. Tarantini, Brentesium, Insubri), but the principle, which has little in any case to commend it, is not consistently applied. We have on the one hand Liguria and Samnitae, and on the other Leucani and Epeirus; also Burchanis, which ought to be Byrchanis.



In the same way Anglicised names are in general severely eschewed, so that the Adriatic appears as the *Adrias* (with an explanatory note); but one may perhaps ask why a privilege denied, say, to the *Thurii* and the *Locri Epizephyrii* should be extended to the *Bastarnians*, *Tyregetans*, and *Mariandynians*, and also (in part at least) to 'the Emporium of the *Aegestes*.' *Corcyraea* ('now *Kerkyra* or *Corfu*') is also open to objection.

The explanatory footnotes, though necessarily brief, contain much useful material. The captious may however be tempted to regret that, where so much requires explanation, space was found for the pointless quotation from *Lucilius Iunior* on p. 89, and for the information that *Lake Constance* is also called the *Bodensee*; or that when the translator says that a cape will 'lie out' towards the East, he means that it 'will point' in that direction. On p. 366 a passage taken from the text (*fr.* 44a) is quoted, apparently by oversight, in the note. The *Crisaeen gulf* is wrongly identified on p. 28 with the *Gulf of Salona*.

Two maps are appended, as in the previous volumes, and are of great assistance, indicating wherever possible the places referred to in the text. But it is surely misleading to show *Naulochus*, of which we are told on p. 278 that the site is unknown; and also the river *Noarus*, which the map (following

*Kiepert* in defiance of everything said about it by *Strabo* or added by his translator) identifies with the *Mur*.

Minor misprints of spelling in the Greek text, and of punctuation in the English, are rather numerous. The fragment of *Sophocles* on p. 78 (*Pearson*, No. 271) is unmetrical as printed. In the translation, *Phocaeans* is given wrongly (for *Phocians*) on p. 49, and some other names are misspelt.

In spite of these faults the work is of great value, and not only the general public, but scholars, will be grateful for an edition so accessible and so pleasantly usable. One such volume represents a vast amount of spade-work and much care in preparation, and the most querulous critic would allow that *Mr. Jones* has performed his task with thoroughness. One excellent feature is the addition of twenty-eight passages to the generally recognised fragments of *Book VII*. Five of these are references in the later books of *Strabo* himself, which, though brief and unimportant, are usefully brought together here in their place; nine of the remainder are taken from *Stephanus*, and fourteen from *Eustathius*. All but one of the last-mentioned are cited from 'the *Geographer*,' whose identity with *Strabo* the editor tells us has been demonstrated by his colleague, *Mr. J. P. Pritchard*; the full proof of this is promised in due course.

E. W. V. CLIFTON.

#### DIOGENES LAERTIUS.

*Diogenes Laertius: Lives of Eminent Philosophers.* With an English translation by R. D. HICKS, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 2 vols. Pp. i + 549; vi + 704. London: Heinemann; and New York: Putnam. 10s. (cloth) and 12s. 6d. (leather) net per vol.

It is very gratifying that *Mr. Hicks* has been able to bring this laborious work to completion, and thus add notably to the debt which students of ancient philosophy already owed him. The translator of *Diogenes* is under the disadvantage that an up-to-date text of the whole work is not available, while

at the same time much work has been done in recent times in almost all of the ten books, especially in *Books III*. (*Plato*), *V*. (*Aristotle*), *VII*. (*Stoics*), and *X*. (*Epicurus*). He has therefore to search through a considerable literature, stretching at least as far back as 1850 (the date of *Cobet's Didot text*), if he is to guard against missing obvious corrections. But for the war the new critical text of the whole work, long promised and impatiently awaited, would, we imagine, by now have appeared, and *Mr. Hicks's* task would have been much simplified. As it is, he is perforce obliged to offer us, as he says,

'an eclectic text based largely on the Didot edition,' hinting modestly in the word 'eclectic' at the researches referred to above. The fact is that, though Mr. Hicks does not pretend to have given us a new text of Diogenes, he has made so much improvement in the existing text that for the present a scholar will be ill-advised, except in sections which have been separately edited, if he cites Diogenes without consulting the Loeb edition.

*Diogenes Laertius* is an uneven and inconsequent compilation, but it is full of gems; and it is to be hoped that the Loeb edition will increase its vogue with the unprofessional classicist. In Mr. Hicks they have a thoroughly reliable guide, who is not deterred by the demands of an exacting scholarship from writing very readable English.

J. L. STOCKS.

### THE PAGAN BACKGROUND OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

*The Pagan Background of Early Christianity.* By W. R. HALLIDAY. Pp. xvi+334. Liverpool: The University Press of Liverpool; London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1925. 12s.6d. net.

THIS volume, addressed to the educated clerical or general reader, is a revised edition of a course of lectures delivered at Liverpool, and the lecture form has been retained for convenience. It is designed to give a picture of the character of pagan society, ethics, and philosophical and religious thought during the early centuries of our era. The exposition is prefaced by sketches of administrative arrangements, imperial and municipal, and of the travelling conditions of the time, which serve to emphasise the powerful forces making for uniformity of civilisation and for fluidity and ferment in intellectual life. Although the book is of a popular character, it is adequately documented and thus saved from the radical defect which makes so many popular, and even learned, books of the present day what Professor Halliday rightly calls 'unmitigated nuisances.'

The author's task, undertaken somewhat reluctantly, was by no means an easy one, but he has performed it successfully. His survey is well-informed and very pleasantly written. While not claiming to add to knowledge already won, he shows familiarity with the best work that has been done, and a first-hand knowledge of the evidence, and he has brought to bear on the subject an independent and very sound judgment. His exposition, with the appended bibliography, should meet the

needs of educated men who are interested in the material, moral, intellectual, and spiritual environment in which Christianity developed. In dealing with society and morals, he avoids the pitfall, which besets the half-informed, of using the evidence of Tacitus and the diatribes of Juvenal to support sweeping generalisations about the moral corruption of the Roman Empire. His narrative, however, seems to suggest that the whole population of the Empire was divisible into the (Roman) aristocracy, the freedmen (who apparently monopolise the middle class), and the slaves; we should hear something of the missing elements, and more than we get on pp. 125-6 of the honest and industrious humble folk, whose consciousness of the dignity of labour is a notable feature, in certain areas at least—a feeling, by the way, not confined to them, and reflecting moral and spiritual ideals. A very good account is given of the decline of rationalism—*i.e.*, the growth of the medieval spirit, which was shared by Christian thought but was not due to it; and the author's discriminating insight is well shown in his observations on the fundamental difference of the motives inspiring the similar precepts of Stoicism and Christianity, as well as in his treatment of the influences exerted by the Mystery Religions on Christianity and of the many striking similarities between Christian and Pagan (especially Mithraic) ritual.

A few points of detail may be noted. The example cited (pp. 35-6) to illustrate how the system of provincial government worked is not quite accu-

rate in several points. There is no evidence that Legio III. Gallica was stationed in Moesia under Augustus and in Germany under Claudius (p. 101 n.), and the propagation of Mithraism was due chiefly to auxiliary recruiting in the East, and very little, if at all, to legionary (p. 102). P. 117 seems to imply that Claudius was the first to admit provincials to the Senate, which is untrue. The spirit of generosity on the part of the rich to their cities and fellow-citizens is, of course, very much older than might be gathered from p. 139 (being a marked feature of the

Hellenistic age), and the earliest private foundation in Italy, so far attested, dates not from the reign of Augustus, but from that of Claudius (or Nero). It should be added that, while the text is nearly free from misprints, except for *tribunus laticlaus* (p. 35) and some Greek accents—the false form 'Borysthena' in two places is a slip—there is a fair crop of printer's errors in the footnotes, especially in the quotations from Latin and Greek, but also occasionally elsewhere (e.g. 'as we was' for 'as we saw,' p. 108, n.).

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

### SCOTT ON THE *HERMETICA*.

*Hermetica: The Ancient Greek and Latin Writings which contain Religious or Philosophic Teachings ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus.* Edited with an English translation and notes by WALTER SCOTT. Vol. II.: *Notes on the Corpus Hermeticum.* Vol. III.: *Notes on the Latin Asclepius and the Hermetic Excerpts of Stobaeus.* Pp. 482 and 632. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925 and 1926. Price (both volumes together) 50s.

MANIFESTLY, the gigantic size of this commentary precludes any detailed criticism, and the reviewer can do no more than characterise it in the most general way. The notes are of three kinds. First, and perhaps most numerous, are those which deal with Mr. Scott's handling of the text, and seek to justify his many reckless alterations. These seem all infected with the same ailment; the commentator begins by making up his mind what the passage must mean, then quarrels with the text because it means something else (or, as he declares, because it means nothing at all), and finally rewrites it to suit his original idea. The notes on Excerpt XIV. (Stob. I. 5, 16) may serve as an instance. The text as it stands in Stobaeus is probably not flawless, but will construe; Mr. Scott declares that 'no continuous sense can be made out' (III., p. 426), and then either defends his emendations by asserting that the author 'must' have meant this and that, or simply takes

them for granted. Second—and here the commentary really has its value—come the numerous passages in which parallels from the later religious and philosophic literature of antiquity are produced to illustrate the Hermetic text. Thus II., 77 ff., give a vast array of ancient speculations on the nature of God; III., 135 ff., seem to omit but little concerning Graeco-Egyptian bisexual deities (although certain passages in Servius appear to have escaped notice), and not much on either orthodox or heretical Christian ideas of marriage. Yet even such notes as these are at times oddly incomplete; for example, II., p. 163, the use of *νεῦρον* = nerve is mentioned, but not a single passage from ancient medical literature cited; III. 21 (on *Asclepius* 3), there are two references to the belief that certain terrestrial things wax and wane with the moon; in so large a commentary one would rather expect twenty. Moreover, when possible sources for the Hermetic ideas are suggested, although both learning and acuteness are to be found, the reader will probably feel that purely philosophical sources bulk rather too large, and perhaps that Stoicism in particular is too much in evidence.

In the third class of notes, those of an exegetic kind, far too little attention has been paid to points of style and grammar. Indeed, grammatical notes are curiously few and poor; a very serious defect in handling the crabbed Greek of the *Corpus Hermeti-*

*cum*. For example, *C. H. V. 6*, has the phrase *τὴν καλὴν ταύτην καὶ θέλαν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου εἰκόνα*. Is it enough to say 'the meaning must be . . . "this image, namely man"' (which is, of course, correct), and add that it is 'awkwardly ambiguous'? The context makes it clear that 'representation of man' cannot be meant, and the 'appositional' genitive is no great novelty in either Greek or Latin. In purely stylistic questions, not nearly enough attention has been paid to such questions as the degree of literalness with which the *Asclepius* was translated—a matter which can be investigated here and there, since fragments of the Greek survive. Thus, *Ascl. 41*, we know that the original of *gratias tibi* was *χαρίν σοι οἶδαμεν*. But, considering how commonly *ago* or *agimus* was omitted in

Latin (*cf.* the proper name *Deogratias*), why insert it here? On the important subject of rhythm, Mr. Scott has something to say in considering the hymns in *C.H. XIII. 17-21*, although he should not have forgotten the possibility of sense-rhythm independent of *numeri*, whether quantitative or accentual. But in the *Asclepius*, which obviously is highly rhythmical, he seems to make no use of that fact for determining reading or punctuation.

It is only fair to add that had Mr. Scott lived to complete the third volume (which was seen through the Press by Mr. A. S. Ferguson) some of these points might have been attended to, and the citations of modern literature made fuller and brought up-to-date.

H. J. ROSE.

### SELECT LETTERS OF CICERO.

*Cicero: Select Letters.* By W. W. How. With Historical Introductions, Notes and Appendices. A new edition based upon that of Watson, revised and annotated by W. W. How, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Merton College. Together with a Critical Introduction by A. C. CLARK, Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. Two volumes. Vol. I. not paged. Vol. II., pp. vii + 579. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925. Vol. I. 6s. Vol. II. 12s. 6d.

Books cannot, like eggs, be classified as (1) fresh, (2) good, useful, (3) undergraduates'; there are some which deserve all three labels. Mr. How's edition of Cicero, *Select Letters*, is an undergraduates' book—that is to say, it is intended primarily for those reading for the School of Litterae Humaniores at Oxford. But it is also more or less fresh: though it is based on Watson's well-known edition, taking over, for example, his very helpful historical introductions with little change, much in the notes and appendices is new. And that it is a good useful book is beyond question.

Gentlemen reading for the School of Litterae Humaniores have much to do besides Roman History in a comparatively short time, and must not be

burdened too heavily. Mr. How's selection contains 101 letters only, about two-thirds of the number given by Watson. Naturally one or two old friends have disappeared, noticeably Metellus Celer's rather boorish protest and Cicero's reply. Most of the victims, however, deal chiefly with Cicero's own perplexities, and can be well spared. The new-comers, on the other hand, fully justify their admission; of especial importance perhaps is 7 (*Ad Att. I. 19*), which tells of the early movements in Gaul and of Flavius' Agrarian Law, while 85 (*Ad Att. XV. 11*) gives an interesting picture of the conspirators in council with their women-folk. And he would be a narrow-minded utilitarian indeed, who would object to the inclusion of the famous letter to Luceius.

The text used is the Oxford text, a considerable improvement on Watson's; occasionally Mr. How dissents from the reading there given—always, we think, with reason—but has confined his own view to the notes. It is published in a separate volume, which can be slipped into any sensible pocket, and should prove a favourite with all who want a selection of the Letters for casual reading.

Since Watson's edition appeared,

much new evidence, from inscriptions, etc., has come to light, and recent studies have contributed much to our knowledge of the period; but this new material was not always accessible to the student, even if he knew where to look for it. An up-to-date edition was badly wanted, and this want Mr. How supplies. He has no theories of startling originality to propound, nor does he take it for granted that if a thing has been said before it is wrong; but historical, constitutional and legal difficulties are explained lucidly and in a minimum of words; rival views on disputed questions, such as the issue between Caesar and the Senate, are briefly outlined and criticised, while full references to the authorities used afford every opportunity for further research. The notes are enlivened by a few topical allusions, but for the most

part the reader will turn to them for instruction rather than for entertainment, and he will not be disappointed.

The commentary caters chiefly for the historian, but grammar has not been neglected: the pages are well-stocked with references to Madvig, all of which no doubt will be duly looked up. Translations are also given of many passages which present difficulties. Finally, mention must be made of the excellent critical introduction by Professor A. C. Clark.

A few misprints have escaped the vigilance of the proof-readers.

Vol. I. 70, l. 2, read 'rescriptam,' l. 10, 'ergo'; 88, p. 2, l. 21, read 'laetantur, remanserunt,' l. 28, 'dolere.'

Vol. II. p. 28, l. 14, read 79 B.C.; p. 67, l. 6, 62 B.C.

J. B. POYNTON.

### CULEX.

'*Culex*': *Sources and their Bearing on the Problem of Authorship*. By D. L.

DREW. Pp. v+107. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1925.

THIS latest accession to the series of Virgilian studies, inaugurated twelve years ago by the lamented Warde Fowler, is the outcome of prolonged investigation of a perplexing, fascinating, and not wholly soluble problem, begun when the author was classical lecturer in the University of Manchester, and continued during the last two years in his new post at Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania. It must be said at once that it is difficult reading. Mr. Drew's style is cramped; one has to read some sentences twice or three times to see what he is driving at; and in his accumulation of minute argument it is sometimes hard to see the wood for the trees. It is perhaps best to begin by reading the six pages of summary at the end of the volume. With these in mind, his track can be more readily followed. In particular, the student will not then be misled or puzzled by the shorthand notation in which, throughout, the term 'Virgil' is used to mean the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* to the exclusion of anything

else with which Virgil's name is or has been associated.

The main line followed by Mr. Drew is that of search for clues in 'sources' and 'borrowings.' An instance will indicate his method better than a formal explanation; we may take for this purpose his summing-up of a long analysis (p. 26) in what he calls 'an unbroken circle.'

'Where *Culex* is related to Virg. *Ecl.* VI., using Theoc. VII., *Culex* uses Theoc. VII., which uses Hesiod, *Op.* 582-589, which is used by Virg. *Georg.* III. 143-156, which is related to *Georg.* III. 322-328 (itself related to Theoc. VII. and *Culex* 42-153) and also to *Culex* 175-179.'

'Unbroken circles,' it is needless to add, lead nowhere: and Mr. Drew's attempts to construct them remind one now and then of a kitten chasing its own tail. The method becomes almost an obsession. Virgil, we are asked to believe, could not have written *non ego vos posthac . . . videbo* except under the direct influence of Catullus' *nunquam ego te . . . aspiciam posthac*. Again, the gadfly of *Georg.* III. 149 is *asper acerba sonans*, and this phrase has a real source in the *asper acerba tuens immani corpore*

*serpens* of *Lucr.* V. 23. But the use made of the point by Mr. Drew is this. In *Culex* is the line *immanis vario maculatus corpore serpens*. 'The author of *Culex* and Virgil have each taken over a different half of the Lucretian line. It is easy to see how the author of *Culex* was attracted to Lucretius here—both are dealing with the serpent. But Virgil is concerned with a gadfly; and it is not at all easy to imagine a good reason for his attention's being directed to *Lucr.* V. 33, unless he had in mind the *Culex* and the worthy gnat frustrating the designs of the serpent.' To show to what lengths this kind of argument may be driven, one other instance will suffice.

'*Culex* 246 has the line-ending *tristis Erinys*. A similar line-ending occurs in *Aen.* II. 337. But much more interesting is the line-ending *communis Erinys* in *Aen.* II. 573:

illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros  
et poenas Danaum et deserti coniugis iras  
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis  
Erinys.

The thought of the Danaï and a wronged husband is, perhaps, enough to recall the Danaïds and wronged husbands, or *vice versa*.'

Comment would be superfluous. But more largely, Mr. Drew's argument is deflected by a subtler fallacy; the assumption of a unitary authorship not only for 'Virgil' as a whole but for *Culex* as a whole, and a further assumption that one of the two must be posterior to the other. If *Culex* be (as it almost certainly is) an elaborate exercise in the new poetry, it is not only possible but highly probable that its contents are a tessellation of mixed authorship; and that, like the exercises, it was worked on and rehandled over a period which may comprise a good many years. The question of priority as regards any single line or phrase or passage takes therefore the form of a simple equation containing two or more variables—in other words, it is insoluble. We know that much (how much, remains conjectural) in *Eclogues* VI. and X. is the work not of Virgil but of Gallus. We do not know, in other *Eclogues*, what may be the work of Pollio, of Varus, of the author of the *Lydia*. The hands engaged were those

of a school or confraternity. Even in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, Virgil notoriously drew large contributions not only from his predecessors but from his contemporaries. Disentanglement (if that were all, as it is not) is precarious. Analysis is a game of mixed skill and chance. If, in Mr. Drew's, one may sometimes feel that he is labouring the obvious ('the deduction seems just, that either the author of *Culex* knew the sources of Virgil's *Ecl.* VI. or Virgil the sources of *Culex* 115-120'; or, 'the results of the discussion [on one section of *Culex*] are, *Culex* imitates Catullus directly'), and sometimes that he finds a 'source' in some merely casual or even inevitable coincidence of language, we must appreciate the minute industry of his investigation, and the fullness with which he sets out, and thus enables us to check, the premises from which he draws his conclusions.

These conclusions may be summarised thus: (1) There is no proof that *Culex* draws directly on *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, or *Aeneid*; (2) the knowledge which the author of each has of the *modus operandi* of the other is very intimate; (3) *Culex* as we have it is the work of one hand; (4) it was not formally published and was probably never meant for publication; (5) it is an experiment or rather a mass of experiments, and not a finished product—it shows all the effort and exertion of experimental work, with just the sort of redundancy that we might expect; (6) it is what we should expect from not only a youthful, but a maturer, Virgil in the first stages of composition. The Virgilian authorship, Mr. Drew claims, is therefore not doubtful.

An example of his method at its best is the way in which (pp. 68 ff.) he deals with the notion that the *Culex* underworld is a rehash of *Aen.* VI. and *Georg.* IV. Nothing, as he justly says, could be further from the truth. And there are some good observations made incidentally: e.g., that the *venerande* of l. 25 is by no means a term of respect from an inferior; and that in l. 93, *iucundoque liget languentia corpora somno*, it is the Lucretian *corpora* (the atoms or primary elements of the body) that are meant.

J. W. MACKAIL.

## OVID AND HIS INFLUENCE.

*Ovid and His Influence.* By EDWARD KENNARD RAND, Professor of Latin at Harvard University. Pp. xii + 184. London, Calcutta, Sydney: Geo. G. Harrap and Co., Ltd. ('Our Debt to Greece and Rome.') 5s. net.

'WHY should one try to revive Ovid? What is our debt to him?' These are two queries propounded in the preface to this volume after the remark that to-day he is hardly more than a school-book, and that his own imagination could have contrived no more horrible metamorphosis than to be turned to such a use. Whether or not his influence now is quite so circumscribed, it is certain that this prince of Latin storytellers has wielded a sovereign power of inspiration in literature and art. Without Ovid the Renaissance would have been notably different. Pictures in Italian galleries like Francesco Albani's dance of *amoretti* at the rape of Proserpina always seem to me as eloquent witnesses to his stimulating genius as any passages in Martial or Dante. How, then, can we estimate what the ages owe him? That is answered by Professor Rand, whose previous works invest him with authority on his theme. The answer is learned and charming; for instructive matter is set forth in entertaining style. Ovid's life and works are treated on pp. 3-107, and Ovid through the centuries on pp. 108-174. Notes and five pages of bibliography conclude the volume.

Bright and racy, as befits the subject, the account of Ovid's poems should send readers to the Latin for them-

selves. I feel sympathy with Professor Rand's inclination to declare the double epistles of the *Heroides* genuine. Ovid's style is there, his knowledge of women, his gift for psychology, his Euripidean interest in human beings. Wisdom prompts Professor Rand to avoid dogmatism on the 'error' which, coupled with poetry, caused Ovid's banishment to Tomis (the form preferred throughout to *Tomi*): the guesses of scholars take us really no further than the author's confession *ingenio perii*. Wisely, too, it is recognised that the genius of Ovid is too subtly volatile to admit of exact definition: 'after all our attempts at analysis, Ovid's spirit eludes us.' All the same, no one can read this study without coming closer to him.

The later portion traces the Ovidian tradition in Latin poetry, Italian and other literatures. Here we meet Ovid posthumously transformed into strange disguises—moralist, theologian, and, like Virgil, even magician. The sketch of his influence on Pontano and Sannazaro suggests that there is room for an elaborate survey, in separate book-form, of classical elements in the neo-Latin poets of Italy. That Ovid does not at present get his due share of attention is the note on which the work ends, as, in its preface, it began. But advocacy so admirable must serve to redress the balance. 'Ovid was too modern for the Dark Age; perhaps he is too modern for ours. . . . We who have erred can easily make amends. It is a comfortable penance; open his books and read.'

J. WIGHT DUFF.

## ROMAN EDUCATION.

*Roman Education from Cicero to Quintilian.* By AUBREY GWYNN, S.J. Pp. 260. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. THIS book is founded on wide reading and research. It has also freshness and brightness, and many suggestive ideas. And when I say that I should like to see much of it rewritten, I mean that it is worth rewriting.

Fr. Gwynn's great fault is his want of caution in using his well-chosen

authorities and his tendency to draw positive inferences from passages which will not bear, at any rate with certainty, the construction put upon them. It is to the good that he always gives his references. If he had added the text, the weakness would have been obvious. I take an example from p. 135, where a specially large accumulation of these *dubia* occurs. He is discussing the education of Vespasian, and makes the

gratuitous suggestion that he 'must have gone to school with his like'—i.e., with rough country boys. Then we have: 'It is not surprising to find that to the end of his life Vespasian never got rid of his country accent.' When we turn up the reference we find Suetonius recording a poor witticism of Vespasian who 'admonitus a Floro plaustra potius quam plostra dicenda, Flaurum (φλαῦρον) salutavit.' As both forms are used by Horace and accepted by Priscian, it is hardly safe to take 'plostrum' as a proof of rusticity.

Apart from these occasional inaccuracies, or uncertainties posing as certainties, the first half of the book, which deals with education before and during the life of Cicero, gives a vivid and truthful picture, and though much of the subject is well-worn the author often breaks fresh ground. This is particularly true of his treatment of the *De Oratore*. But when we leave Cicero behind, the matter is more questionable. Fr. Gwynn is too ready to find changes. Momentous changes no doubt there were in social life, but education does not always respond to these. When he treats the elaborate type of 'controversia' as a post-Ciceronian degeneracy he may be right. Many others, at any rate, have thought the same. But his statement that the post-Ciceronian schools neglected 'suasoriae' drawn from Roman history cannot be sustained in face of the numerous allusions to such themes in Persius, Juvenal, and Quintilian. Again, he contrasts the old practice of attaching the novice to some distinguished orator with the (supposed) later use. 'Tacitus,' he tells us on p. 132, 'speaks of the old custom as a thing of the past.' Messalla, an interlocutor in Tacitus' *Dialogue*, says something which may, though not necessarily, mean this. But Messalla is not Tacitus, and Fr. Gwynn ignores the fact that the one person in the first century of whom we can speak with certainty, Quintilian, not only recommends the practice but had followed it himself.

The author rightly notes that the breach between rhetoric and professional philosophy had widened greatly by Quintilian's time, and this may well have had practical effects upon education. But we do not, I think, know what they were, and when Fr. Gwynn tells us that this breach tended to force philosophy out of the 'encyclic programme of studies' and quotes Seneca's depreciation of the 'Encyclia' as a proof, I feel sure that he is wrong. Philosophy, apart from dialectic, had never been part of the 'Encyclia,' and the antithesis between the two dates from long before Seneca. On the other hand, with regard to the grammatical schools, while he rightly emphasises the important change by which contemporary literature ousted the 'veteres,' he ignores the movement by which 'grammaticae' came to connote grammar as well as literature. Seneca's definition, he says, is the same as Cicero's. As Seneca includes 'curam sermonis,' which Cicero's does not, I find them vitally different.

The last quarter of the book is almost wholly concerned with Quintilian, and here in general we get a clear and accurate account. Fr. Gwynn has read the *Institutio* with discernment. But I think he lands himself in a morass at the end when he accuses Quintilian of taking a different attitude from Cicero to the higher studies of law, philosophy, and history. He makes great play with certain obscurities of arrangement in the twelfth book. These do exist, but the deductions made from them seem to me fanciful.

There are two points on which I think the author shows specially good sense. One is that he rejects the deductions often drawn from Cicero's view of history as an 'opus oratorium.' He sees that the meaning of such phrases is not that 'history is a branch of rhetoric,' but that it is a subject worthy of a master pen. The other is his distrust of the *Quellenforscher* and *Quellenkritik*. In this he has my profoundest sympathy.

F. H. COLSON.



## IMPERIAL ROME.

*Imperial Rome: I. Men and Events; II. The Empire and its Inhabitants.*

Translated from the Swedish of Martin P. Nilsson by G. C. RICHARDS. Pp. xvi + 376. With 24 plates and a map. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1926. 21s.

PROFESSOR NILSSON deserves praise for setting himself to write a popular and comprehensive survey of the Roman Imperial period and its problems. Some of these problems are so ominously similar to our own at the present moment that one could wish that our public men would study them carefully. The causes of the decline and fall of ancient civilisation should make them think very seriously. They are to be found according to Professor Nilsson—and he is right—in the internal condition of the Empire, and his chief object is to examine that condition from the social, economic, and cultural points of view. This is begun in Book II., and will be continued in a second volume. By way of preface, and in the interest of a true perspective, Book I. gives a survey of 'Men and Events.' The volume is not documented.

The author is a man of wide knowledge, and he writes in an interesting and illuminating way, with his eyes always open to the analogies presented by recent developments in our modern world. But the method adopted seems not quite fortunate. It is impossible in 152 pages to give a satisfactory survey of men and events to the end of the fifth century, and it is impossible to make such a review really intelligible without entering into the various problems—military, social, and economic—which the Emperors had to face. What we get is a rather wearisome procession of figures across the stage, with (on the whole) very just appreciations of their character and general policy; but the ordinary reader will be left with the vaguest ideas of the course of events and their causes, and it helps him little to be told that he will hear later about 'the importance of these measures,' or that 'this achievement is closely connected with important reforms which will be described in their proper place.'

Their proper place was surely just here.

Book II. is more successful. It describes the conditions and characteristics of the various provinces (not always very adequately nor with sufficient stress on stages of development), the foreign countries on the borders, and the political, military, economic, and race problems of the Empire. The reader will find an excellent account of the original inequalities between the Provinces and Rome and Italy, and of the gradual process of levelling up the rights of the former and concurrently levelling down the position of the latter. He will find a good description of the army as a civilising force and of its gradual barbarisation, and a discussion of the difficult problem of race mixture and its results. In regard to the last question, it seems an exaggerated view to regard 'hybridisation' as 'of itself a sufficient explanation for the collapse of ancient culture and the Roman Empire,' even if we add the qualification, suggested by the discussion, that its effects are aggravated when the framework of culture is loosened by ferment and revolution. The biological explanation assumes that the Roman strain was the only 'superior' strain in the Empire. It is clear that the lower classes came to the top, and in their rise destroyed the environment of culture. But the same result would probably have followed without 'mongrelising': it was the penalty paid for the undue devotion of the upper classes to material comfort and for their exploitation of their less fortunate brethren, who had remained so long in a condition of uneducated serfdom. It must be added that the treatment of economic questions leaves something to be desired.

When we come to details, there is a good deal to criticise. Doubtful views are set down as facts, and statements are made which are very questionable or palpably erroneous. In certain cases the fault may not lie with the author, though the translator's work appears to be well done. Space limits us to a few examples. On p. 188 we

seem to be told that a stretch of ten miles in Syria contained more than 100 towns, great or small. It is not true that Egypt 'was no part of the domain of the Roman Senate and people but Augustus' private conquest and the Emperor's private property'; nor that the six African magnates whose property Nero confiscated possessed a *sixth part* of the province; nor that 'tin was certainly not found' in Spain (this in defiance of Pliny); nor that the province of Aquitania was 'chiefly peopled by Iberians.' The thrice repeated statement that the inhabitants of Gallia Comata were prevented by legal restrictions from aspiring to full citizen rights and office at Rome is an invention of Mommsen. The statement that the corn 'thrown on the market' at a fixed price by the Government was issued (to others than recipients of the dole) 'from the State granaries on the presentation of tickets bought at a fixed price' seems to be Marquardt's untenable theory about *tesserae nummariae* converted into a fact. It is absurd to maintain that the lowering of the price of corn at Rome by Gaius Gracchus removed all possibility of a livelihood for the small farmers of Italy and completed their ruin. In regard to the army, we

have a confusion between Urban cohorts and *Vigiles*; we are told that after Augustus 'every legion had four squadrons of cavalry, each 120 strong,' and that *colliers* figured among the artisans attached to legions (*Kohlenbrenner* is no doubt meant). The statement about Legio XXII. Deiotariana (p. 297) is incorrect, and those regarding the enrolment of citizens from the provinces in non-legionary cohorts (p. 297) and the exemption of certain provinces from conscription (pp. 196, 300) are both against the evidence. If it is true that the cessation of Italian recruiting for legions was due to the 'spirit of pacifism,' it is hardly consistent to add that another factor was the turbulence of Italian troops, which made them undesirable.

While defects of this sort may be regretted, they do not perhaps seriously affect the broader issues nor gravely impair, for the general reader, the value of what is on the whole a well-drawn picture of conditions under the Empire.

The volume is provided with many illustrations, but they are not referred to in the text, and they are badly arranged, partly because they are printed on both sides of the paper.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

### MEDIEVAL LATIN.

*Mediaeval Latin.* Selected and edited by KARL POMEROY HARRINGTON. Pp. xxx+698; about 50 figs., half-tone. Boston, New York, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco: Allyn and Bacon, [1925]. \$2.80.

THIS is the most ambitious volume of selections of medieval Latin passages which has yet been published; for others see a composite review in the first issue of *Speculum* (pp. 110-114), the new quarterly journal of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

Professor Harrington comes down well into the Renaissance and beyond, for he includes Scaliger, Joh. Bapt. Mantuanus, Sir Thomas More, Muretus, Daniel Heinsius, and even Milton among the authors from whom he draws. Let purists carp—this is essentially a book for the student, whether to accompany

a course of lectures or for private study, and it is convenient to have specimens of all post-classical Latin. There are among them some charming specimens of lyrics by fifteenth-century Italians and sixteenth-century Germans, and these are very inaccessible except to the fortunate possessors of the *Delitiae Italarum poetarum*, collectore Ranutio Ghero, and the *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum*, collectore A.F.G.G.<sup>1</sup>

For the earlier portion I have nothing but praise, especially for Professor Harrington's wide-cast net. Ennodius and

<sup>1</sup> I wonder if anyone has examined the *Delitiae poetarum Sclorum* (Amsterdam, Blaeu, 2 vols., 1637) with an anthological view? Most of them are too long, and occupied with controversial theology, but some epigrams by John Maitland (Thirlestane) and Thomas Maitland of Lethington would bear reprinting.

Avitus are not too often met, nor the more secular poems of Venantius Fortunatus, nor the elegiac account of the siege of Barcelona by Ermoldus Nigellus (about A.D. 827). The choice of humorous poetry (the Goliardic poems, the *Cambridge Songs*, etc.) is well made; and the selections from Bernard of Morlaix<sup>1</sup> are representative, and some of them beautiful. I doubt if he has got the very best out of the *Carmina Burana*, though here opinions will naturally differ, and I rejoice to see *Suscipe Flos florem* with a rough reproduction of the illumination that illustrates it in the MS.<sup>2</sup> I wish that some

medievalist would undertake the task of a new edition of these poems. Schmeller's text was good enough for the date of its issue (1847), but the publisher goes on proudly announcing an *unveränderte Auflage*, and it must now be used with caution: see P. Schuyler Allen in *Modern Philology* VI., p. 85, for other authorities which must be consulted to correct it.

Professor Harrington supplies explanations of difficult words in footnotes, so that the reader need not be constantly flying to his Du Cange. He must have in view a rather elementary type of student, or he would not explain (p. 387) *presbyter* as priest and *excommunicamen* as excommunication. But this is a fault on the right side; and for the assistance in the notes, as for every other feature of the book, I offer my thanks and congratulations.

S. GASELEE.

<sup>1</sup> I wonder that Professor Harrington did not mention Jackson and Preble's book (Chicago, 1910) on this poem.

<sup>2</sup> Let me correct a grievous mistake in the footnote to p. 371. Professor Harrington prints certain words and phrases in single quotation marks, saying: 'It is not altogether clear on what principle these (accent or stress?) marks are employed here and there in these songs, whether they apply always to musical accent or sometimes to rhetorical emphasis.' The explanation is much simpler, and is given by

Schmeller himself, when on pp. 257 ff. of his edition he supplies a list of *Lectiones codicis, quarum loco editor illas quae signis inclusae cernuntur conjecturales substituit*.

## SERTORIUS.

*Sertorius*. By ADOLF SCHULTEN. Pp. 165. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1926. 14 M. This excellent book is an expansion of Dr. Schulten's article on Sertorius which recently appeared in *Pauly-Wissowa*. A thorough study of the career of Sertorius has long been wanted, and no one could be better qualified for the task than the leading authority on ancient Spain, whose books on Numantia and Tartessus are recognised as standard works.

A comparison of Plutarch's *Life of Sertorius* with the fragments of Sallust's *Histories* has convinced Dr. Schulten that Sallust is the main, if not the only, source of Plutarch's narrative, to which he therefore attributes a greater value than has sometimes been done. He admits, of course, that the pro-Caesarian 'democratic' Sallust is inclined to favour a man who, like Caesar, was attached to the popular party, and he notes the existence of a less favourable 'Pompeian' version of his story which can be pieced

together from Livy, Appian, and Diodorus, and probably goes back to Sisenna. However, he estimates so highly the qualities of Sallust as an historian that he definitely prefers Plutarch's version to its rival.

Dr. Schulten's account of the campaigns of Sertorius in Spain is an excellent example of what can be done with inadequate material by a man who brings to military history a sound knowledge of topography. His minute acquaintance with Spanish geography renders intelligible the rather vague accounts of our authorities, and with the help of the excellent map which he provides it is possible to follow the operations of Sertorius and his opponents in considerable detail. Good use is made of what is known concerning the later road-system of Spain, and the assumption that lines of communication developed under the principate were not entirely new is, of course, perfectly valid. Dr. Schulten draws attention to the occurrence in the

Itineraries of such names as Metellinum, Castra Caecilia, Caecilius Vicus, and Caeciliana (near Lisbon), and makes use of this in tracing the movements of Sertorius' opponent, Q. Caecilius Metellus. A good example of his method is his investigation of Plutarch's account (in Ch. XVII.) of the smoking-out by Sertorius of the cave-dwellers of Characa, which, with the help of a friend from Madrid, he definitely locates near the modern Taracena, thus providing himself with a valuable topographical datum.

The discussion of Sertorius as a statesman is, though interesting, perhaps less satisfactory than the purely military chapters. The parallel with Caesar, which appealed to Sallust, is quite adequately emphasised; there is certainly some resemblance between Caesar's position in Gaul and that of Sertorius in Spain, and it is quite right to point out that they both

treated provincials in an enlightened way. But whether anything is gained by speaking of the 'democratic ideals' of either is, at any rate, uncertain. All the generals of the later Republic were generous to provincials, and we find Pompeius Strabo, Pompey's father, (not at that date a *popularis*), enfranchising thirty Spanish cavalry as early as 89 (v. *J.R.S.* IX. 1). Sertorius, like Caesar, was unscrupulous (Dr. Schulten takes very calmly his alliance with the pirates and Mithradates), and we are told (p. 147) that if he had marched in triumph to Italy he would probably not have shrunk from absolute rule. The real tragedy of his career, as of that of Pompey, is that he did not live later, when the principate had been firmly established, for then the great military and administrative gifts of both could have been used in the service of the state and not wasted in civil war.

G. H. STEVENSON.

*Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles d'Asiné, 1922-1924.* (Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund, 1924-1925, Fasc. 2.) By O. FRÖDIN and A. W. PERSSON. Pp. 94; 48 plates. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1925.

THE Swedish excavations at Asiné, which was destroyed by Argos about 700 B.C., have been unexpectedly rich in results. The site (as shown in Plate III.) is a rocky hill projecting into a picturesque bay, and behind it lies a fertile valley sheltered by limestone hills. It is surrounded by a wall still well preserved, but preliminary surface exploration hinted that the rains of centuries had left little soil on the acropolis. Inscriptions prove that the site, like Mycenae, was reoccupied in later days under the Achaean League, and the walls for the most part belong to this period in spite of their archaic appearance. The gate, with its guardian tower, is a good example of Hellenistic fortification. On the summit of the acropolis in spite of the shallow soil there are remains of Hellenistic occupation, notably a wine-press, and of an early Bronze Age settlement (Early Helladic). In the lower town an interesting Bronze Age settlement (Middle Helladic) is being explored, and besides a rich harvest of vases has provided interesting house-plans. A few sherds of actual Cretan Kamares Ware are important, as Middle Minoan pottery is very rare on the Greek mainland, even if Aegina be included. The adjoining hill, Barbouna, is crowned by the ruins of a building which may perhaps be the shrine of Apollo Pythaios spared by the Argives according to Pausanias. Here a great quantity of vases, principally of the early

Iron Age (Geometric) and of the archaic period, have been found, with a leaden statuette of Apollo and some tiles and architectural terracottas archaic and Hellenistic. The building, the foundations of which have been cleared, probably dates from the seventh century and stands on the site of an older shrine. On the slopes of the hill are two cemeteries. That on the south-east belongs to the Early Iron Age (Geometric) period and consists both of cremation and inhumation graves which resemble those of the same date found at Thera. On the north-western slope lies a Bronze Age cemetery with chamber tombs of the well-known Mycenaean type dating from the Second and Third Late Helladic periods. These, to which the present report is in the main devoted, have yielded rich finds of vases of clay and bronze, ornaments in gold, amber, and ivory, and in a tomb which is not older than the fifteenth century (L.H., II.) the greater part of a stone bowl, presumably of Egyptian fabric dating from the early dynastic period. This remarkable find must have already been preserved as an antique long before it was placed in the tomb. These are a few only of the more important results of these excavations, which are being conducted patiently and scientifically. Professor Persson and Dr. Frödin are much to be congratulated on the success of their expedition, which owes its inception to the enthusiasm of H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Sweden, who has personally taken an active part in the work.

A. J. B. WACE.

*Prehellenic Architecture in the Aegean (The Origins of Architecture, II.)*. By EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xvi + 214. With 70 Illustrations, Maps, and Plans. London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1926. 8s. 6d. net.

IN this little book Mr. Bell attempts to give some account of the Aegean culture in so far as it is illustrated by architectural remains. He does not, however, confine himself to architecture, and his method of handling the remains is neither strictly chronological nor local. The subject is complicated, and it is difficult for one without considerable field experience to avoid mistakes and inconsistency. After a brief introduction, where Dörpfeld is not mentioned, he proceeds with the first period of Crete (Early Minoan). Thence he passes to Troy, and discusses the 'Second City.' His next chapter, 'The Advance of Crete,' dealing with round or oval and rectangular house forms, is incomplete. He also confuses dates, coupling the Praisos tomb, which is L.M. III., with the early tholoi of Mesara, and bringing into the same connexion the round classical tower in Andros. Then come two short chapters on the 'Middle Minoan Age,' in which later buildings such as the viaduct leading to the south entrance at Knossos, the Isopata tomb and the tomb of Double Axes are included. The chapter on the 'Late Minoan Period' is inadequate. A fairly good account of Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada follows, but the section on Cretan towns and houses, apart from palaces, is too short, and omits Tylissos and Nirou Chani, which are really important architecturally. It is strange, too, that in dealing with early Aegean architecture he should not describe the remarkable E.M. houses at Vasilike. In a condensed chapter on technical details not one of the illustrations shows the scale of the original—a common fault. It would have been better to give larger plans of existing ancient remains, and more details to scale, than to figure modern reconstructions. Fortified towns follow, where a distinction should be drawn between castles like Troy or Tiryns and towns like Phylakopi. The account of Troy VI. is satisfactory, but not that of Tiryns. This is unfortunate, as the recent German researches have revealed the gradual development of this citadel, and provide excellent architectural material. The description of Mycenae, although recent discoveries are quoted, is not clear, as the author has misunderstood the history of the Shaft Graves. Some suggestions, the old one about human sacrifices in the Grave Circle, that the Grave Circle had a roof on wooden columns, and that the grave stelai were covered with stucco and painted, have no evidence to support them. The tholos tombs which do not have monolithic side-posts for their doorways are not well treated, and are without plans or sections, except one which gives the impression that the Treasury of Atreus is smaller than the Isopata tomb. The chapter on Goulas is welcome, as it is too often neglected. The author writes pleasantly, and it is a pity that his effort to produce a guide to Aegean architecture is not more successful. Its weakness is due to faulty classification, to not keeping

more strictly to architecture, and to insufficient grasp of the historical problems. There are several errors in facts, and plans which do not show the scale should not be included in an architectural treatise. A. J. B. WACE.

*Totentheil und Seelgerät: eine entwicklungsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum Verhältniss von Recht und Religion.* Dr. E. F. BRUCK. Pp. xxiii + 374. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1926.

*Totentheil*, in old German law, means the continuance after death of an individual's right to his personal property—i.e., his right to have some part of it buried with him. *Seelgerät* is the application, by will or otherwise, of part of one's estate to such purposes as requiem masses, or a pious foundation of some kind, for the good of one's soul. Dr. Bruck sets out to find Greek equivalents, or rather parallels, for these. As to the former, he concludes that the earliest personal property (*κρίματα*) consisted in such things as were got by plunder, in war, or on piratical raids, and, to a less extent, of things made or earned by the individual; gifts also formed a not inconsiderable part of it. Cattle (*Bioros*) and real estate were not included. Hence the *κρέπευ*, so frequently mentioned in Homer in the phrase *ἐπὶ κρέπευ κρεπεῖσθαι*, are identical with the *κρίματα* or a portion (never a fixed quota) of them. Our earliest evidence, that of Minoan-Mycenaean tombs, already shows us the practice of substitution in vogue, objects of comparatively little worth being sometimes given to the dead as a sort of models of their actual possessions; while from the Dorian migration onwards grave-offerings rapidly dwindle. Later, with the lessening of the feeling of clan or family solidarity, and the weakening of old beliefs concerning the tendance of the dead, we get the characteristically Hellenistic institution of the religious foundation (*θιασος*), a sort of artificial clan, not to be traced further back than the late fourth century B.C. This corresponds to *Seelgerät*, and although it does not grow out of the older funeral offerings, but rather replaces them by a corporation legally obliged to keep up the cult of its founder, still we find here again that it is the founder's personal acquisitions (*αὐτόκτητα*) from which the bequest is made.

Dr. Bruck is a jurist, not a philologist, an archaeologist, or an anthropologist; so, as his general conclusions are satisfactory, it would be unfair to quarrel with him for being now and again out of date or wrong in details. The last chapter, bringing down the history of the practices in question to late Christian times, adds to the value of this highly interesting work. H. J. ROSE.

*The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins.* By V. GORDON CHILDE. Pp. viii + 221. 8 plates, 28 illustrations in text, and map. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1926. 10s. 6d.

By 'Aryan' Mr. Childe means Wiro, which he admits to be a far better name, but says that reviewers have laughed it out of literature. Beyond this quaint deference to journalistic

opinion, there is but little to quarrel with in his book, which was badly needed, for we had no modern summary of the matter in English, and has the advantage of being written by a good archaeologist who does not imagine that the aid of comparative philology can be dispensed with. Of course, a good deal of the material is familiar to anyone who knows Hirt's *Indogermanen* or Déchelette's *Manuel*, but even familiar facts are the better for restating sometimes; and a considerable proportion of Mr. Childe's facts are either so new as not to be available outside of highly-specialised periodicals, not likely to be at hand for the ordinary classical student, or available only in very large and expensive books. Moreover, he is much too honest an archaeologist to be led astray by the glamour of a new fact or long-standing affection for an old one. His general conclusions are that the homeland of the Wiros is rather likelier than not to have been North-Eastern Europe, although there is still much to be said for South-Eastern Russia. As regards the classical lands, he is of opinion that the Mycenaeans were Cretans, who found Hellenic Minyans already in possession, and were later conquered by Achaeans from North-West Greece; that, consequently, Greek has been the language of Greece since a period well back in the second millennium B.C. As to Italy, he would deduce all post-Neolithic cultures from a Bronze civilisation, originating perhaps in the Balkan district, of which the *terramara* people are the characteristic early representatives. Wherever precisely the Wiros originated, and however they got to the countries where we find them, they were undoubtedly Nordics, and their success is due not so much to brain as to brawn; 'the Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be the vehicles of a superior language,' are the concluding words of the book. Here surely Mr. Childe forgets that the superior language was their own invention, and thus shows good, if still undeveloped, intellectual ability.

His views are put forward with great good sense, and he avoids dogmatism in a manner remarkable in so short a work. His methodology seems to be sound throughout, and he is very careful to let it appear that he does not imagine his ideas to be final or infallible anywhere. The printers have mostly done their work well, but 'collateral' has lost an *l* on p. 71, and 'fain' has become 'feign' on p. 154.

H. J. ROSE.

*Mythologische Exempla in der älteren griechischen Dichtung.* Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde . . . vorgelegt von ROBERT OEHLER. Pp. 126. Aarau: H. R. Sauerländer, 1925.

THIS dissertation had its origin in a remark by Gregor Nitzsch in his *Sagenpoesie*, on the subject of the references in Homer to events and personages that are outside the action of the epics and are taken from that gallery of typical characters and experiences, the Saga. The practice was referred by Nitzsch to the love of the Greeks for the expression of emotion through the medium of a *παράδειγμα*, and the

object of this essay is to illustrate the truth of the observation by a collection of the *παράδειγμα* cited by Homer's immediate successors, by the Lyric Poets, and in Tragedy and Aristophanes. In addition a number of relevant matters are discussed, such as the scope and definition of the *παράδειγμα*, the progress of the expedient as it can be traced in literature after Homer, and the various themes of the Saga that found most favour. The treatment is extremely clear and full, and the collection will be useful for reference by anyone interested.

A. SHEWAN.

*Parnassus Biceps, being a Treatment and Discussion of the Piræean Marble.* By R. J. WALKER. Pp. xviii + 310. Paris: G. Ficker, 1926.

THE inscription here discussed (*I.G.* II. 992) was found at the Piræus, and is a fragmentary list of books presumably belonging to a library. It is unnecessary to do more than point out the fundamental absurdities of the author's fantastic structure. He asserts that part of the list is in the order of the Sanskrit alphabet. This is not so, but he attempts to make it plausible by removing all the vowels to the end of the alphabet. This is not enough, for he represents *Α* according to his convenience either by vowel or consonant *l*. *Σ* has to be represented by *j* or *c*, but not always, and spiritus asper by visarga, a sign found only at the end of syllables. Further, he has to assume etacism and to insert epenthetic vowels. Next he assumes that the Greek was accompanied on each side by a Sanskrit translation, but the whole of this has been 'deliberately' knocked off, and this Sanskrit was written backwards. There was once such a Sanskrit alphabet, but he will have nothing to do with that, and says it was in Devanāgarī, an alphabet which certainly did not exist at the date of this inscription, nor was it written backwards. However he is not sure that the language was Sanskrit. It may have been Pāli, but he has forgotten that there is no visarga in Pāli. Even after this he has to admit that part of it is in Greek alphabetical order, and part presumably in chronological. It is not surprising that he goes on to build theories of India's debt to Greece that have long been exploded, but one point is rather novel. He derives the doctrine of *māyā* from Aristotle. The prevailing view is that it was developed from a late form of Buddhism, but he is unaware of this, as he tells us that he is not aware that anyone is much better informed on the point than he is.

E. J. THOMAS.

*La Religion de la Grèce antique.* By TH. ZIEGLINSKI. Pp. viii + 191. Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926.

THIS essay represents a point of view. It is not a systematic treatise, but an attempt to appreciate the nature and value of Greek religion. It begins and ends upon the note of Goethe's maxim 'Gefühl ist alles.' 'Le sentiment religieux est le noyau de la religion, tout le reste est parabole.' Of such interpretations

it is difficult to predicate truth or falsehood. They are necessarily distorted by the insufficiency of our knowledge and by individual temperaments and prepossessions. Dr. Zielinski dislikes Gruppe's 'Gefühl'; I am not sure that I in turn could accept the vision of either of these greater scholars. But whether one agrees with it all or not, the view of a scholar of Dr. Zielinski's knowledge, insight, and enthusiasm will repay study even, or perhaps particularly, on the part of those whose angle of approach is alien to his. He is, as I understand it, a Roman Catholic, to whose temperament neither Protestantism nor Semitism is naturally congenial, whose real knowledge of classical antiquity has bred a deep affection for it, and who is almost determined to find that all which he regrets in historical Christianity was derived from Judaism, while all that is admirable is owed to Hellenism.

My own feeling is that the earlier part of the essay particularly is over-sentimental, and I am reminded that the *encomium* is the ancestor of the essay. The effective part played by nature worship in Greek life seems to me greatly over-emphasised, and in particular with the alleged cardinal importance of Mother Earth in Greek religious consciousness, a thesis which runs right through the book, I should not agree.

An obvious difficulty is created not merely by the multiplicity of Greek states, but also by the rapidity with which Greek civilisation passed through so momentous a development. It is not enough to ask what are the essentials of Greek religion, but rather, what are they at a particular moment? Even so there is difficulty enough. What would Aristophanes, Alcibiades, Xenophon, and Plato have admitted in common, and what would have been their assuredly discrepant criticisms of this book? At the outset of the essay, it is true, we are invited to adopt the standpoint of an Athenian of the fourth and third centuries B.C., but in practice this date soon becomes merely a *terminus ad quem*, nor is there anywhere adequate recognition that in the fourth and third centuries syncretism had come to stay, and Greek religion was already becoming something different—Hellenistic religion.

A few minutiae may perhaps be noted. The contrast between the fruits of Epicureanism and Stoicism as determining the ethical merits of the two systems (p. 149) is surely rhetorical. I should personally prefer to face a Day of Judgment with the record of Atticus or Maecenas rather than with that of Cato or Brutus or even Seneca. The early connexion of Pan and panic (p. 18) has been made doubtful since this book was written (*C.R.* XL., p. 6). Not many of us believe that Apollo was from the beginning a sun-god.

A holocaust was not solely nor chiefly employed in sacrifices of a scapegoat type (p. 103). Was Heraclea Pontica not an 'Etat bien policé' (p. 149)? Taenarum, where there was also an oracle of the dead, was in Spartan territory, and the Spartan government upon occasion appealed to it. The implied hostile attitude of the secular authority in Greek states to this form of divination is exaggerated. On

p. 131 the description of the procedure at Delphi might be questioned. The use of written questions, familiar of course at Korope and other oracles, is attested for Delphi only, I think, by the poor scholium on Aristoph. *Plutus* 39. That the consultant did not send in his question by the priest and await the answer outside, but was himself present with the *Prophetes* and the *Hosioi* who were on duty, seems to be implied by Euripides, *Ion* 414-8, and Plutarch, *de def. orac.* 51. I do not know of a whole Greek city of which all the inhabitants possessed the gift of prophecy (p. 150). Telmessos, for which the references may be found in Pease's note on Cicero, *de div.* I. xli. 91, was Carian; in spite of Cicero and Pliny it was a *koinon* not a *polis*; the evidence, such as it is, implies that the prophetic gift was hereditary in both sexes of a single *genos*.

The notes are intended only to be illustrative and represent the happy selection of a scholar who is really at home in classical literature. I am surprised at the recommendation of Pettazoni as a beginner's guide. At least three better supplements to Wide and Nilsson exist. Again, Farnell's *Hero Cults* and Cornford's *Religion to Philosophy* might with advantage have been mentioned. Adam's work, though probably the best book upon its aspect of the subject, seems curiously unknown abroad, and is almost never mentioned by foreign scholars.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

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*Platon: Oeuvres Complètes.* Tome IV., 1<sup>re</sup> Partie. *Phédon*: Texte établi et traduit par LÉON ROBIN. Pp. lxxxvii + 206. Paris: Société d'Édition 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. 20 fr.

THE edition of the *Phaedo* in this useful and interesting series is rather more notable for its introduction than for its translation. M. Robin discourses concisely, yet comprehensively and judicially, of the many questions which confront the modern student as he follows the story and speech of this marvellous drama. First there is a careful investigation of the historical basis and the obvious elements of fiction in the work, from which it is justly concluded that the *Phaedo* is 'Plato's exposition of his own conceptions of death and of the immortality of our souls in relation to other doctrines—the theory of ideas and reminiscence—which formed already a well-known part of his teaching'; and the awkward consequences of attributing these conceptions and doctrines to the historical Socrates are briefly explained. We pass next to a lucid analysis of the structure and philosophical content of the dialogue, which calls for no particular remark except that it is clear-cut, well-proportioned and graceful, in the best tradition of French exegesis. The next section is of somewhat fresher and more special interest, as it is an essay on the concluding myth and its curious details of cosmology and geography, pointing out how they foreshadow the similar but greater achievements of the *Phaedrus*, *Republic* X., the *Politicus* and the *Timaeus*. The introduction concludes with a short account of the manuscript evidence.

The translation is useful in the sense that it leaves nothing vague, and maintains throughout the general air of lively speech. But an English ear that has made some acquaintance with the great masterpieces of French prose will often feel that there might be an easier flow or a more seductive harmony in the sentences which stand opposite the rhythms and euphonies of Plato. In many places, we feel sure, M. Robin could have improved the sound of his sentences without weakening their sense or accuracy; and he could certainly have avoided this jingle, which has nothing to justify it in the Greek (62 B): 'Ce sont des Dieux, ceux sous la garde de qui nous sommes, et nous les hommes, nous sommes une partie de la propriété des Dieux.'

W. R. M. LAMB.

*The History of Political Science from Plato to the Present.* By the Rev. ROBERT H. MURRAY, Litt.D. Pp. 435. Cambridge: Heffer, 1926. 12s. 6d.

SPACE will not permit of any very detailed treatment of a volume ranging over so wide a field as this of Dr. Murray's. The amount of reading which has gone to the making of it is indeed remarkable. Hardly any writer of any note from Plato down to Lenin is passed over, and many who are less known than they deserve to be in these days of concentrated specialism receive full handling. Occasionally there are signs that the reading has been rather hurriedly done. Some eminent writers—and this is a more serious matter—seem to have been read without any discernment of their meaning. This is notably the case with Spinoza, of whose moral and political theory we are given a mere brutal caricature (pp. 218-220). It is simply not the case that Spinoza 'worships craft' or holds that 'standards of obligation and honour possess no meaning,' and the statements are cruel libels on a thinker of noble personality whose real object is to vindicate the policy of so enlightened a patriot as the great De Wit. If it were possible to carry caricature further, Dr. Murray does it when he goes on to accuse Spinoza of asking us to 'remove' duty and conscience 'from the heart of men.' It had been better to read less and to read to more purpose.

The one chapter of the book which has a special interest for the average classical student (that on Plato and Aristotle) is naturally less wide of the mark than this. But I think it reproduces some curious current misapprehensions. It is hard to believe, for example, that the love of a 'city' was 'wrought into the innermost fibre' of Aristotle, when one remembers that Aristotle in all his life never *had* a 'city' to be in love with. The letters of Plato—Dr. Murray wrongly calls them 'so-called'—do not assert, as they are said on p. 9 to assert, that Plato denounced tyranny to Dionysius I., and was consequently 'sold into slavery.' One sign of the authenticity of *Ep.* VII. is precisely its silence about this story. Nor did Plato 'bring about the expulsion of Dion from Syracuse' (p. 10). In point of fact, Dion can hardly be said to have been formally 'expelled' at all, and

the correct statement would have been simply that Plato's attempts to reconcile him with Dionysius II. were unsuccessful. It betokens blindness to some very real facts to assert that 'the Greek'—presumably this means 'the Athenian'—was not a 'family man' (p. 16). What is true is that Athenians were not romantic lovers of their wives, and that they did not make domestic life a subject for literary treatment. How close the family tie was is proved by the simple consideration that family interest is treated in the *Republic* as the one great besetting danger to the virtue of the statesmen. This is not to say that there are not admirable *aperçus* in this, as in most of Dr. Murray's chapters. What he seems to lack is the power of *sustained* thought and of getting at the roots of another man's ideas. He prefers too often the easier way of writing for edification or for epigrammatic effect, and when he has made an epigrammatic 'observe,' he has a tendency to repeat it when its flavour has evaporated. I should add that for so widely-read an author, Dr. Murray allows himself to be singularly slovenly in sentence-construction, and that the number of places where a sentence makes no sense, or has its obvious sense perverted by the omission of a necessary negative, or the like, shows that either the author or the proof-reader has been curiously careless. Dr. Murray's book, though not all that a history of political thought should be, is good enough to go to a second edition. When it does, some of these things should be put right.

A. E. TAYLOR.

*Catalogus codicum astrologicorum graecorum.*

Codices Athenienses descripsit ARMANDUS DELATTE. Tomus X. Pp. viii+291. Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1924. 25 francs.

NOW that the *Catalogus* is nearly completed it may be well to recall some of its services to scholarship. Besides advancing our knowledge of astrology, it has thrown much light on the religious history of the Empire and of Hellenistic times, as appears, for instance, in Kroll's papers in *Neue Jahrb.* VII. and *Klio* XVIII. (1922), and on the general mentality of the ages in question; an example of that is the glorification of submission to Fate by Valens Vettius, who first became widely known through the *Catalogus*, though he has since been edited in full by Kroll. The thought of the ancient world was deeply penetrated with astral ideas. In this new volume, edited by an authority on magic and on the Pythagoreans, there is little of importance for antiquity proper, but much of later superstition,<sup>1</sup> as for instance on the significance of earthquakes and thunderclaps, according to the sign of the Zodiac in which the moon is (p. 60 ff.), or of earthquakes in different months (62 ff.), on the planets under which to carry out magical operations (68 f.), on the way to adjure an angel (80), or again on the colour of clothes appropriate to the different planets

<sup>1</sup> On astrological superstitions in Byzantine times it may be of service to draw attention to K. Dieterich's paper, *ATTEAOZ*, I. 2 ff.



(97).<sup>1</sup> For all this matter M. Delatte was an ideal editor, and his careful text with its *index verborum* represents a solid contribution to knowledge.

A. D. NOCK.

*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs.*

Publié sous la direction de J. Bidez, F. Cumont, J. L. Heiberg et O. Lagercrantz. I. Les *Parisini* décrits par HENRI LEBÈGUE. En appendice les manuscrits des *Coeranides* et tables générales par MARIE DELCOURT. Pp. x+320. 30 francs. III. Les manuscrits des îles britanniques décrits par DOROTHEA WALEY SINGER avec la collaboration de ANNIE ANDERSON et WILLIAM J. ANDERSON. En appendice les recettes alchimiques du Codex Holkhamicus, éditées par OTTO LAGERCRANTZ. Bruxelles: Lamertin, 1924.

AFTER the astrological writers the alchemists have their turn. Berthelot's *Alchimistes grecs* had made some of these texts available, but his interest was primarily in their matter. That they will repay study from the linguistic point of view is well shown by the notes of Lagercrantz on a manuscript found by Cumont at Holkham Hall, nor are their contents devoid of interest. In them survive a type of philosophic mysticism, superstitions of interest, and the pseudoeigraphic tradition which is so conspicuous from the second century B.C. onwards. Mlle. Delcourt, to whom we owe the *initiorum index* to the *Coeranides* (commonly known as the *Cyranides*), has given a useful summary of the general bearings of these studies in *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 10 (Janvier, 1926), 40 ff.; may we hope that more reports like this, and like the preface by J. Bidez to the first volume, will be given from time to time with detailed information? Specialists will not fail to note and weigh A. Heisenberg's criticisms in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, XXV. (1925), 382 ff.; those others who have no pretensions to that title will appreciate the devoted labour and skill given to these volumes.

A. D. NOCK.

*The Rhythm of Greek Verse, as exemplified in Aeschylus and Sophocles.* By the late Dr. WILLIAM THOMSON. Pp. 20. Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie and Co., 1926. 4to.

THIS brief sketch of Greek lyrical metres is a pendant to the author's large work on *The Rhythm of Speech*, reviewed by me in these columns in 1923 (Vol. XXXVII., p. 187 f.). In one respect the principle of 'blows and intervals' is modified, as applied to Greek; for here the author adopts isochronism of feet (or rather measures) as fundamental, though he abandoned it in English verse. On the isochronistic basis he arrives at 'nine discernible quantities' (standing to one another as

$$\frac{1}{2} : \frac{2}{3} : \frac{3}{4} : 1 : 1\frac{1}{2} : 1\frac{2}{3} : 2 : 3 : 4$$

<sup>1</sup> On the colour of Saturn itself cf. Housman on Manilius IV. 531 and Lucan I. 652.

respectively) and three degrees of stress for Greek metres. It is impossible to discuss this theory within the limits of the brief review which I am asked to write, especially as only the first seven pages of this brochure were revised by the author. But these 20 pages are sufficient to indicate the outlines of the theory, which does not differ in kind from that of Boeckh (criticised by me in *What is Rhythm?* pp. 52-59). The study of rhythm was to Dr. Thomson a passion; indeed it was, as he once told me, his 'life'; and he was convinced that his doctrine would some day win general acceptance, though not during his lifetime. It behoves readers, therefore, to study these last words of Dr. Thomson with respectful attention, and to give his theory a fair hearing. *Vale, anima candida atque de republica litteraria bene merita.*

E. A. SONNENSCHNEIN.

*Roman Portraits.* By MOSES STEPHEN SLAUGHTER, late Professor of Latin in the University of Wisconsin. Pp. vi+128. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Milford, 1925. Cloth, 7s.

THIS book contains five essays—on Lucretius, Virgil, Horace, Cicero, and Augustus. Dean West explains its origin in his appreciation written in remembrance of his friend. 'The classics grew with his years, and mellowed his thought. Virgil and Horace, with the earlier Lucretius and Cicero, were to him not only writers of genius, but intimately known persons.' And Augustus is added because the Golden Age of Latin letters is named from him. The treatment is semi-popular. Knowledge of Latin is not assumed. The object is not to break fresh ground, but to state familiar facts and aspects in plain and simple terms. The warm sympathies of the writer, of which Dean West speaks, make him a good guide to the humanities; and his book will serve a useful purpose if 'it sends its readers to study the great writers whom it describes.'

J. A. NAIRN.

*Some Questions of Musical Theory.* By WILFRID PERRETT, B.A., Ph.D., Officier d'Académie. Cambridge: Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 7s. 6d.

THE famous *auletes* Olympus is mentioned by Plutarch as a musical innovator; but the data about him are so vague that, without much fear of contradiction, he might be credited with almost any subtle variation in the scale. The book before us, though it bears the name of Olympus on the title-page, is a treatise on Acoustics rather than on Greek Music, and contains a plea for certain sequences of notes (called Septimal Harmonies and the Scale of A sub-minor) derived not from history but from physical theory. Only a trained acoustician, after full experiment, could decide on the validity of the proposed new scales; and whether Olympus had them or not hardly affects the question. But there is an infectious zeal in Mr. Perrett's polemic; and we feel that his aim, though far beyond the ken of the

scholar or even of the average musician, is very dear to him, and perhaps to others of the same mind. A theory that goes clean against Helmholtz, and would tear up at least half the music written since the time of Bach, is not likely to be popular in the near future. But when the piano and organ have acquired their 'blue' notes (for the missing quarter-tones), and the amateur, at Mr. Perrett's instance, has contented himself with the tom-tom, then, perhaps, a few elect souls will devise a new music for a docile and gramophone-nurtured public. Meanwhile we find that Mr. Perrett says nothing about the various Oriental scales—Chinese, Arabian, Indian, Græco-Levantine—whose intervals undoubtedly come very near to his own. Has he heard the 'Quarter-tone Organ,' designed by Professor Psachos of Athens? We venture to think that if all those musicians for whom even the Just Intonation is too gross, would meet and lay their heads together, they would not only cheer one another but also help to clarify our ideas about that misty region where physics end and music begins.

H. J. W. TILLYARD.

*The Position of the Possessive Pronoun in Cicero's Orations.* (A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of the Graduate College of the State University of Iowa.) By EDGAR ALLEN MENK. Pp. 71. Grand Forks, North Dakota: Normanden Publishing Company, 1925.

THE possessive pronoun occurs 6,318 times in Cicero's speeches, 3,141 times preceding its substantive, 3,177 times following it. 'From these figures,' the writer observes, 'it would be unsafe to teach that the possessive follows its substantive.' His own view is that, subject to certain exceptions, which can be brought under two or three heads, the following possessive is unemphatic, the preceding emphatic. He has clearly bestowed much care and time on this dissertation—there are at least ten pages of statistics—but, while much that he says is true, he is not always happy in his attempts to coerce refractory exceptions—e.g.:

*Deiotarus* 28, 'qui meus in Cilicia miles, in Graecia commilito fuit.' We are apparently to emphasise 'meus,' and take it with 'miles' only. The meaning, then, is that 'Deiotarus was a soldier under Cicero in Cilicia, but a fellow-soldier in Greece.' It is of course possible to arrive at that meaning without stressing 'meus.'

*Verres* II. §. 129, 'me suam salutem appellans, te suum carnificem nominans.' We are advised to translate 'calling me his own safety, and you his own hangman.'

*Piso* 59, 'noster divinus ille dixit Epicurus.' 'Noster' is emphatic, and we should translate 'Our divine, I mean, Epicurus.'

When the writer speaks of Statius, he refers, of course, to Caecilius Statius: on the whole it is better to reserve this name for Papinius.

J. B. POYNTON.

*Die Wortspiele in Ciceros Reden.* By HANS HOLST. Pp. 119. Oslo: Some and Co., 1925.

THE author has constructed 'eine heuristische Systematik der Wortspiele Ciceros' from ten selected speeches, his further objective being a 'natürliche psychologische Systematik' based on the whole of Cicero's work. At first sight the labour and thought bestowed upon a book of this type appear out of proportion to its utility; but it has an interest of its own, and if it should lead to a fuller understanding of Cicero and his style, even to a small degree, the author would doubtless feel that his toil had not been wasted. The 'Wortspiele,' accompanied by explanatory notes, are arranged under forty-five headings. The main division, (1) *durch Ambiguum*, (2) *durch Paronomasie*, is clearly right and necessary, while the subdivisions appear satisfactory, and more sensible than the method 'nach dem Buchstabenunterschied' of Auct. ad Herenn. followed by Wölfflin. The definitions followed (but not very clearly stated) are wide enough to include as 'Wortspiele' such rhetorical commonplace as: (41) 'Nulla iam perniciēs . . . manibus ipsis intra mania comparabitur,' (47) 'Primum pēlo ut pecunia contentus . . . vitam ne petat.' In some instances the necessary antithetical point appears difficult to establish, e.g. (49) 'Si eritis secuti sententiam C. Caesaris quoniam . . . is . . . viam quae popularis habetur secutus est,' (130) ' . . . qui cum omnia divina atque humana iura polluisset, somnum statim capere potuisset,' and (52) 'videor . . . mihi . . . videre'—no more a 'Wortspiel,' one would have thought, than 'I seem to see.' Turning to 'Ambigua,' there are cases where the author's judgment seems faulty, e.g. (21–22) (*Verr.* IV. 43) ' . . . iactabit se et in his equitabit eculis.' It is hard to agree that 'iactabit se' suggests the meaning 'iactabit se in hos eculos,' etc., or in (25) (*Verr.* IV. 148) that 'nudum' is a reference to the nude statue of Verres' son; nor in (26) (*Mil.* 12) is it clear how 'intermortuae' = 'halbersticht vom Rauch der brennenden Kurie.' In (20) (*Rosc. Am.* 100) ' . . . quem . . . de ponte in Tiberim deiecerit,' Mr. Holst, having explained that 'in Tiberim' is applicable to one meaning of 'de ponte' only, says that it is of little importance 'denn Cicero mag, bei der Aktion, "in T." so ausgesprochen haben, dass es wie eine nur dem einen Glied der Amphibolie geltende Bemerkung nebenbei fiel.' This seems improbable. Generally speaking, the work is sound and presents the fullest treatment the subject has yet received.

L. G. POCKOCK.

*De eo quem dicunt inesse Trimalchionis Cenae sermone vulgari.* W. SÜSS. Pp. 88. Dorpat, 1926.

SUCH a book as this is very welcome; the last two attempts to cover the whole ground of the Vulgar Latin of Petronius (Ludwig and Guericke) date from 1869 and 1875. Since then we have had four more editions of Bücheler's text, Part II. of *C.I.L.* IV., the *C.G.Lat.* (with Heraeus' important work on P. and the Glosses),

besides many excellent works on Vulgar Latin, so that a writer on P. now stands on much firmer ground (e.g., many MS. readings where Bücheler originally accepted emendations are now seen to be sound).

S. points out that we have here no 'pidgin Latin'; there are neither barbarisms nor Grecisms, properly speaking (he also denies Oscan or Campanian usages); the language is rather a sort of Roman *κοινή*. Unlike modern dialect writers (generally so useless to a philologist), P. does not exaggerate—the Romans were more sensitive to shades of language than we. Tested by inscriptions P. is seen to avoid many extreme vulgarisms both in forms and pronunciation, being more intent on the '*Copia et usus verborum*' [usually a pitfall to dialect writers]—unlike Consentius and the Appendix Probi. (A difficulty is to decide what is due to Petronius, what to the scribe; e.g., S. accepts *frustra* for *frusta* in *sermo urbanus*, 35. 3, 59. 7).

After examining the *sermo plebeius* as a whole, classified under headings, S. attempts to distinguish (and here his success seems doubtful) between the latinity of the various speakers. He sums up (p. 77) as follows: '*invenimus depictam simplicitatem brevissimarum sententiarum angustis circumscriptam [Dama], verbosam obscuritatem moleste sine ullo ordine verborum et rerum fluentem [Phileros], exagitatam et concitatam perturbationem, moribus caldicerebriis in verbis recte absolvendis impeditam [Hermeros], falsam urbanitatem semper in elegantis artis grammaticae attingendis labentem [Echion], falsas delicias ex affectatione civium morum ad sordes consuetas semper redeuntes [Habinnas].*'

In conclusion S. repeats that Petronius offers no promiscuous reproduction of the language of the gutter, but selects a *κοινή*, the typical Latin of the people, 'communem illum fontem linguarum Romanicarum.'

The following suggestions are of interest. 41. 10: *palaracina*, a confusion of *πάραχρον* and *palera*. 43. 4: *quantum*, acc. of price (Löfstedt), to be retained. 44. 9: *Asiadis*; leg. *Asi lapidis*; cf. Pl. *H.N.* 36. 17. 27-8. 51 *ult.*: *quia enim*; '*quia Caesaris, enim narrantis.*' [But *quia enim* is common enough in Plautus.] 57. 8: *ridiclei* is from *ridiculeus* (cf. Heraeus, *op. cit.* p. 24). 57. 11: *in ingenuum*, 62. 10, *in larvam*: *in* (= 'as') is right; cf. *Vulg. Paralip.* 1. 28. 6, II. *Cor.* 6. 18 etc. 131. 7: the old woman's speech is *sermo vulgaris*—quod-clause for acc. and inf. [also repeated *vides*, and proverb]. On p. 79 (note) S. gives parallels between Trimalchio and Augustus, from *Suet. Aug.* 70, 74, 75, 83, 85, 98, 101.

W. B. SEDGWICK.

*Tacitus: The Histories.* With an English translation by CLIFFORD H. MOORE of Harvard University. Vol. I., Books I.-III. (The Loeb Library.) Pp. xviii + 479, 2 maps. London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam, 1925. Cloth, 10s. net.

IN his introductory pages Mr. Moore writes: 'It is unnecessary to say anything on the diffi-

culties of translating Tacitus to those who have attempted to render even a small portion of his work; and the experiment is earnestly recommended to all who would entertain a kindly charity toward one who has dared to face the tempting but impossible task.' A good deal, sometimes a great deal, is inevitably lost in translation from one language to another: but one may doubt whether a satisfactory translation of Tacitus is so hopeless a task, while conceding that the attempts hitherto made fall far short of the ideal. The translator must at all costs eschew diffuseness, if he aims at reproducing anything of the terseness and crispness of the original; he must toil to find the felicitous word or phrase; and he must, of course, think hard to get the exact significance of the Latin. It cannot be said that Mr. Moore has consistently reached the highest standard in these matters. In general his version is sufficiently correct and reads quite well, but his style is not always as concise or as happy as could be wished, nor is his interpretation always precisely accurate in details. A few examples must suffice, and the first two chapters will supply some of them. *Mihi Galba Otho Vitellius nec beneficio nec iniuria cogniti*: 'in my own case I had no acquaintance with Galba, Otho, or Vitellius, through either kindness or injury at their hands' is neither concise nor very felicitous. *Inscitia rei publicae ut alienae*: 'because men were ignorant of politics as though they were not their concern' is a lengthy rendering, with an improbable interpretation of *ut*. *Longius proVectam* is not 'carried far forward.' *Agerent verterent cuncta odio et terrore*, which describes the universal turmoil and havoc wrought by informers, is translated 'robbed and ruined without limit, inspiring universal hatred and terror.' Or again, in I. 89, *Oriens Occidensque et quicquid utrimque virium est a tergo* is not 'the East and the West and all the forces that both had behind them were involved' (*a tergo* is clearly the predicate). In II. 68, *orta seditio ludicro initio, ni numerus caesarum invidiam Vitellio auxisset* is mistranslated 'a mutiny broke out, arising from an incident which would have been amusing, if the number of the slain had not increased the unpopularity of V.' The meaning is that the mutiny 'originated in sport; only, the number of deaths aggravated the feeling against V.' In the next sentence but one *legati tribunique* is rendered 'lieutenants and tribunes'; and in III. 20 'other fortifications' for *aliena munimenta* is a bad blunder. But, despite such blemishes, Mr. Moore has produced a serviceable translation which compares favourably with the renderings of his predecessors.

The select *apparatus criticus* is in general adequate, but in the notorious passage about the *confluentes Padi et Aduae* (II. 40) no hint is given that the text has been justly suspected and ingeniously emended (though an insufficient note states that the accuracy of Tacitus' *account* has been doubted); and I have noted twelve mistakes, mostly misprints: I. 50 *principium*, 52 *Fischer*, 53 *decore*, 76 *et ab* (for *M*), II. 54 *I. F. Gronovius* (for *I.*), 60 *interfectis*, 84 *pucuniam*, 95 *galene*: *aque*, III. 4 *cunctator M*, 6 *ex*

c. 6 (for 7), 23 *vacuo* *Halm*: *disperso* *M* ('*vacuo*' is the reading of *M*, while '*disperso*' is *M*'s mistake: for '*dispersa*'), 25 *frustra inisset* (for *frustrā Inisset*). In the text itself *dismissus est* (l. 58) has caught my eye.

J. G. C. ANDERSON.

*Des Q. Horatius Flaccus sämtliche Werke.* Erster Teil. Oden und Epoden . . . erklärt von CARL NAUCK. Neunzehnte Auflage von PAUL HOPPE. Pp. xxii+218. Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1926. Cloth, M. 5.

THIS is the third of Dr. Hoppe's revisions of a favourite school edition of the *Odes*. The notes have been simplified or otherwise improved in several places. The present editor does more than Nauck or Nauck's first reviser, Weissenfels, did to trace the underlying thought of the poems and to bring them into relation with Horace's life and times; the illustrative citations, too, are often useful. Nevertheless, when one compares the work with the English editions chiefly used in our schools and colleges, or even with the three revisions by Weissenfels (1894-1904), one finds it rather meagre and unsatisfying. Linguistic points receive scant attention, and important questions of interpretation are hushed up. On III. 23. 18 Dr. Hoppe's note is as follows: '*sumptuosā*: die Kürze vor dem Einschnitt wie III. 2, 32.' The cool assumption is rather overpowering, but there are some people who seem to like this economical style of annotation. To all such Dr. Hoppe's edition may be recommended.

The introduction describes some features of the *Odes* briefly but instructively. There is no index.

W. B. ANDERSON.

*Prolegomena to an Edition of the Panegyricus Messalae. The Military and Political Career of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus.* By JACOB HAMMER, Ph.D. Pp. ix+100. New York: Columbia University Press. London: Milord, 1925. 6s. 6d. net.

MONOGRAPHS on the great Augustans are always welcome, and the welcome may be warm when the subject played so large a part in the history of his time as did Messalla Corvinus. To be useful such a work need not be final: if the problems are faced, and the evidence is collected, a purpose has been served. And on a service of this kind Mr. Hammer may be congratulated. He gives an honest survey which faithfully sets out the material in a way for which his successors will be grateful.

With many of Mr. Hammer's conclusions it is possible to agree. His arguments for preferring Dio to Appian on the date of the Aquitanian campaign are plausible, and he has an attractive interpretation of Tibullus'

'non sine me est tibi partus honos.'

But there are other points on which he is more open to criticism. Two opinions are possible

about the wisdom of putting Messalla's death in 8 A.D.—and his birth, consequently, in 64 B.C.—to satisfy Ovid *Ex Ponto* l. 7, 27 ff. in face of Frontinus *De Aq.* 99 and the results which follow for the *cura aquarum*. Again, in discussing the Illyrian campaign (*vide* especially p. 34 *nn.*), Mr. Hammer does not seem to have profited to the full from Veith's essay thereon, though he cites it in his bibliography; nor are his views of Actium (p. 44) altogether satisfactory.

Several smaller details would be better changed. Mr. Hammer might consider the epigraphic evidence for the way in which his hero spelled his name: at whatever results he may arrive, he should not misrepresent the facts, as he does on pp. 32 and 62. Again, in quoting the remark that Jerome's account of Terentia and her matrimonial affairs is a 'figmentum scholasticum,' he might add that Reitzenstein has replied to this by claiming Seneca as the source. And in the same place (p. 91) a reference to Dessau *ILS* 5989 should be given. Somewhere or other a mention of Dessau 917a would be relevant, and on pp. 32 and 92 the inscriptions should be cited as Dessau 4977 and 5050 respectively. To be sent to *Eph. Ep.* VIII. for the *acta sacr. saec.* is absurd. But these are only small defects, and they may easily be removed in a new edition. It is to be hoped that one will appear; for this little book to go out of print would be a pity.

HUGH LAST.

*The Hundred Best Latin Hymns.* Selected by J. S. PHILLIMORE. Pp. xxiv+174. Glasgow: Gowans and Gray, 1926. Paper, 1s.; cloth, 2s.; leather, 3s. 6d.

ONLY to the earlier hymns are the ordinary canons of classical textual criticism applicable, and in these Professor Phillimore has not always given us the best possible text: in 2 (St. Hilary of Poitiers) ll. 2 and 63 *concinantes* and *concinemus* seem better than *concinentes* and *concinamus*, l. 6 *El* than *vel*, l. 43 *templum* . . . *pendunt* than *templi* . . . *pendent*; in 4 (St. Ambrose) last line, surely *vota*, not *ora*; from 8 the first stanza (Intende, qui regis Israel . . .) is omitted, though it must be genuine; in 11 (Sedulius)—where an oversight has permitted both *coelestis* and *caelestis*—the X stanza (it is a 'hymnus abecedarius') should begin *xeromyrrham* or *xeromurram*, for *Xto myrrham* (or *myron*) is a late conjecture, and a poor one.

But it is a good shilling's worth. Professor Phillimore's taste—and it is one that he can justify, though it is not everybody's—may be judged from the fact that no fewer than eighteen out of his hundred hymns are taken from Adam of St. Victor, Philip de Grève coming next with eight. Here the casual reader and ordinary church-goer finds the originals of the best of the hymns familiar to him, and some equally fine pieces which are much less well known.

S. GASELEE.

## SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS

MUSÉE BELGE. XXX. Nos. 2-3 JULY, 1926.

- G. Jacob, *Les esclaves publics à Athènes*. Categories, names, how recruited: kinds of ἐπύραται with details of control, material condition, etc., especially from Eleusis inscr<sup>a</sup> (Ditt. S.I.G.<sup>a</sup> 587). Athens limited her corps of public slaves, as did some other cities (Ar. Pol. II. 4. 13). The project of Xen. de Vectigal. was thought dangerous for the public finances, free workers, slaves themselves and the democratic republic. N. Vulic, *La nationalité des Péoniens*. Not possible to decide between J. Beloch (Greek) and Kazanow (Illyrian): anyhow Pelasgian question does not depend on answer. A. Severyns, *Le cycle épique et l'épisode d'Io*. Reconstructs the ἀκολουθία of Cycle: Titanomachy already announced Heracles as does Aesch. P.V. 771 f. and intervening epics led up similarly to Theban. L. Laurand, *Le texte du De Amicitia dans le Parisinus 544*. H. Janssens, *Notice sur un MS. de Saint-Augustin provenant de l'ancienne Abbaye de Saint-Jacques à Liège (avec une planche)*. L. Herrmann, *Sur la composition de la quatrième Bucolique*. Lines 60-63 should be put between ll. 17 and 18: the poem then falls into four symmetrical sections. A. Vitale, *Tertulliano e Plinio il Naturalista*. Romans invoke against Christians ancient laws, which they themselves break: here T. finds material in Pliny. P. d'Hérouville, *Virgile apiculteur*. Much space given to bees: honey then more important: V. indulges own memories and preferences as artist: errors are those of his time. P. Faider, *La Maison Carrée: considérations sur la litt. latine classique*. Analysis of classic qualities of Augustan lit.: the Nîmes temple symbol of age when public taste was in stable equilibrium. A. Roersch, *La correspondance de Lipse et de Torrentius*.

MUSÉE BELGE. BULLETIN BIBLIOGRAPHIQUE ET PÉDAGOGIQUE. XXX. Nos. 7-10 (JULY-OCT., 1926).

- P. Faider, *Le Pont du Gard*. Summary of Espérandieu's monograph (1926) with personal reflections. B. Batiffol, *L'Institut pontifical d'archéologie chrétienne*. A. Fauville, *La psychologie contemporaine et l'éducation*. GREEK.—(All editions in Coll<sup>a</sup> Budé). *Aesop*: E. Chambry, 2 vol. 60 fr. Patient and learned research (Anon.). *Demosthenes*: M. Croiset, *Harangues* II., 1925. Favourable (J. Meunier). *Julian*: J. Bidez, I. 2, *Lettres et Fragments*, 1924. A model edition (A. Delatte). *Marcus Aurelius*: A. J. Trannoy, *Pensées: préface d'A. Puech*, 1925. Delicate task prudently done: preface good (A. Willem). *Plato*: L. Robin, IV. 1, *Phédon*, 1926. Favourable (A. Willem). A. Diès, VIII. 3, *Le Sophiste*, 1925. Masterly analysis (J.

Meunier). *Psellos*: E. Renauld, *Chronographie ou hist. d'un siècle de Byzance*, 976-1077. Favourable (Anon.).

- LATIN.—*Augustine*: A. v. Harnack, *Reflexionen u. Maximen gesammelt u. übersetzt*, Tübingen, 1922. Selection differently conceived from E. Zeller's (J. de Gh.) *Cicero*: L. Laurand, *Étude sur le style des discours*, 2 vol. Budé, 1926. Favourable (P. d'Hérouville). *Erasmus*: P. S. and H. M. Allen, *Opus Epist. VI.*, Oxford. Name will remain inseparably bound with E. (A. Roersch). *Plautus*: P. Lejay, *Plaute, publié par L. Pichard*, Boivin, 9 fr. From notes left by L.: good on originality of P. and especially for cantica (A. Willem). *Tertullian*: F. Ramorino, *Tertulliano*, Milan, 1922. 8 l. Masterly presentation: some differences from usual chronology (G. Hinnisdals). *Virgil*: G. Gastinel, *Carthage et l'Énéide*, Rev. archéol. 1926. Interesting, but cannot agree with results (L. Herrmann).

- GENERAL.—H. Brinkmann, *Gesch. der lat. Liebesdichtung im Mittelalter*, Halle, 1925. Welcome, but lacks clearness and general views (M. Hélin). J. J. Hondius, *Novae inscr. atticae*, Diss. Leyden, 1925. Very interesting supplement to C.I.A. (A. Delatte). E. Collomp, *Rech. sur la chancellerie et la diplomatique des Lagides*, Budé, 30 fr. Indispensable for papyrology (Anon.). J. Hatzfeld, *Hist. de la Grèce anc.* Payot, 30 fr. Clear summary of modern knowledge for cultivated readers (Anon.). G. Fougères, G. Contenau, P. Jouguet, and J. Lesquier, *Les premières civilisations (Hist. générale, vol. I.)* Alcan, 1926. 30 fr. Unique in its kind (Anon.). Lefebvre des Noettes, *La force motrice animale à travers les âges*, 1924. Justly called sensational by C. Julian: subject hardly explored before (P. d'Hérouville). P. T. Justesen, *Notes on the psychophysiology of Homer*, Java, 1926. Strange hypotheses (V. Larock). T. Zielinski, *La Religion de la Grèce ant. trad. d'A. Fichelle*, Budé, 1926. Has made his mentality Greek (Anon.). H. Delehay and P. Peeters, S.J., *Acta Sanctorum Novembris tom. IV.*, Brussels, 1925. Favourable (E. Bacha). A. Meillet, *Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta*, 1925. Zoroaster 7<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup>: praised by R. Fohalle. E. Tonnelat, *La chanson des Nibelungen*, Budé, 1926. Interesting analogy for Greek epic (Anon.).

CLASSICAL WEEKLY (NEW YORK). (1926.)

- ANTIQUITIES.—October 11. D. Randall-Mac-Iver, *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924] (R. V. D. Magoffin). Long and detailed review; favourable.—M. Della Corte, *Juventus: un nuovo aspetto della vita pubblica di Pompei*

[Arpino: Fraioli, 1924] (E. S. McCartney). An investigation of the organisation of *iuvenes* in societies in the Roman world, and at Pompeii in particular. Praised.

GRAMMAR.—October 18. O. Jespersen, *The Philosophy of Grammar* [New York: Holt, 1924] (E. H. Sturtevant). Favourable.

PHILOSOPHY.—October 18. R. M. Wenley, *Stoicism and its Influence* [Boston: Marshall

Jones, 1924—in 'Our Debt to Greece and Rome'] (W. A. Heidel). Praised; but the style is criticised for want of dignity.—A. E. Taylor, *Platonism and its Influence* [In same series, 1924] (W. A. Heidel). Favourable: H. dissents on certain points, but does not argue at length.

[The issue of October 18 contains a list of classical articles in non-classical periodicals.]

## BOOKS RECEIVED

All publications which have a bearing on Classical Studies will be entered in this list if they are sent for review. The price should in all cases be stated.

\* \* Excerpts or Extracts from Periodicals and Collections will not be included unless they are also published separately.

- Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé.* No. 13. Octobre, 1926.
- Charleton (W.) *Epicurus his Morals.* Translated anno 1651 by W. C. and now reprinted with an Introductory Essay by F. Manning. Pp. xliii+xx+119. London: Peter Davies, 1926. Boards, 15s. net.
- Chase (W. J.) *The Ars Minor of Donatus.* Translated from the Latin with introductory sketch. Pp. 55. (University of Wisconsin Studies in the Social Sciences and History, No. 11.) Madison, 1926. Paper, \$0.75.
- Collomp (P.) *Recherches sur la Chancellerie et la Diplomatie des Lagides.* Pp. viii+245. (Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, Fasc. 29.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres' (London: Milford), 1926. Paper, 9s. net.
- Ernout (A.) *Morphologie historique du Latin.* Nouvelle édition revue et corrigée. Pp. xiv+404. (Nouvelle Collection à l'Usage des Classes, XXXII.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1927. Cloth, 24 fr.
- Flickinger (R. C.) *The Greek Theater and its Drama.* Third Edition. Pp. xxviii+381; many illustrations. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926. Cloth, \$3.
- Grevander (S.) *Untersuchungen zur Sprache der Mulomedicina Chironis.* Pp. viii+164. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N. F. Avd. 1. Bd. 22. Nr. 3.) Lund: Gleerup; Leipzig: Harrassowitz. Paper, 4 kr. 75 öre.
- Hamilton (M. A.) *Greece. Illustrated from the country, the monuments and the authors by B.A. and J.J.* Pp. xix+250; 242 illustrations. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Cloth, 2s. 6d.
- Hirt (H.) *Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil I. Einleitung. 1. Etymologie. 2. Konsonantismus.* Pp. xxxvii+350. (Indogermanische Bibliothek.) Heidelberg: Winter, 1927. Paper, 15 M. (bound, 17 M.).
- Hülsem (C.) *Forum und Palatin.* Pp. 99; 30 illustrations, 64 plates, and a plan. (Die Baukunst, herausgegeben von D. Frey.) Munich, Vienna, Berlin: Drei Masken Verlag, 1926. Paper, RM. 9.50.
- Kern (O.) *Die Religion der Griechen. Erster Band: Von den Anfängen bis Hesiod.* Pp. viii+308. Berlin: Weidmann, 1926. Paper, 11 M. (bound, 13 M.).
- Lang (W.) *Das Traumbuch des Synesius von Kyrene.* Pp. 91. Tübingen: Mohr (Siebeck), 1926. 3.60 M.
- MacGregor (M.) *Leaves of Hellas. Essays on some aspects of Greek literature.* Pp. 300. London: Arnold, 1926. Cloth.
- Milne (J. M.) *Easy Latin Readings.* Pp. 77. London: Harrap, 1926. Paper, 1s.
- Movoreiov. *Rivista di Antichità. Anno III. Fascicolo II.* 1926.
- Orth (E.) *Logios.* Pp. 108. Leipzig: Robert Noske, 1926. 9 M.
- Orth (E.) *Nemesios von Emesa. Anthropologie.* Pp. 121. Buchdruckerei Maria-Martental bei Kaisersesch. (Bez. Coblenz), 1925. 4 M.
- Phonetic Transcription and Transliteration.* Proposals of the Copenhagen Conference, April, 1925. Pp. 32. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926. Paper.
- Poland (F.), Reisinger (E.), and Wagner (R.) *The Culture of Ancient Greece and Rome. A general sketch. Translated from the 2nd German edition by J. H. Freese.* Pp. 319; about 141 illustrations, maps and plans. London: Harrap, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Riemann (O.) *Syntaxe latine. Septième édition revue par A. Ernout.* Pp. xvi+698. (Nouvelle Collection à l'Usage des Classes, XI.) Paris: Klincksieck, 1927. Cloth, 36 fr.
- Souilhé (J.) *Platon. Oeuvres complètes. T. XIII., 1<sup>re</sup> partie. Lettres.* (Collection des Universités de France.) Paris: 'Les Belles Lettres,' 1926. Paper.
- Taylor (A. E.) *Plato. The man and his work.* Pp. 522. London: Methuen, 1926. Cloth, 21s. net.
- Tennant (M. K.) *The Bacchanals of Euripides, rendered into English in the original metres.* Pp. xiii+81. London: Methuen, 1926. Cloth, 3s. 6d. net.
- The American Journal of Philology.* Vol. XLVII. 3. Whole No. 187. July, August, September, 1926.

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